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ABSTRACT

"We the People . . . Project Citizen," an instructional product, involves students in the selection and investigation of important public issues in their community and thus engages students in learning experiences designed to affect positively their civic development, which involves three basic components of democratic citizenship: (1) civic knowledge, (2) civic skills, and (3) civic dispositions. This monograph evaluates the effects of "Project Citizen" on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. It contains these chapters: (1) "Introduction to an Evaluation of 'Project Citizen'"; (2) "Historical and Philosophical Foundations of 'Project Citizen'"; (3) "Research on the Civic Development of Adolescents: Relationships to an Evaluation of 'Project Citizen'"; (4) "Methods of an Inquiry to Evaluate 'Project Citizen'"; (5) "Implementation of 'Project Citizen' in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania"; (6) "Effect of 'Project Citizen' on the civic Development of Adolescent Students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania"; and (7) "Recommendations on Research, Curriculum, and Instruction." Includes four appendices and a bibliography. (BB)

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# *PROJECT CITIZEN* AND THE CIVIC DEVELOPMENT OF ADOLESCENT STUDENTS IN INDIANA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA

Thomas S. Vontz, Kim K. Metcalf,

and

John J. Patrick

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Thomas S. Vontz, Kim K. Metcalf,
and John J. Patrick

The ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education and the Adjunct ERIC Clearinghouse for International Civic Education in Association with Civitas: An International Civic Education Exchange Program

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# Executive Summary

*We the People . . . Project Citizen* is an instructional product for adolescent students, which was developed and published in 1992 by the Center for Civic Education at Calabasas, California. Since then, it has become very popular. Today, *Project Citizen* is used by teachers and their students in all 50 states of the United States of America and more than 30 countries in different regions of the world.

*Project Citizen* involves students in the selection and investigation of important public issues in their community. They work cooperatively to propose, justify, and defend resolution of the issues. Thus, *Project Citizen* engages students in learning experiences designed to affect positively their civic development, which involves three basic components of democratic citizenship: civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. Is *Project Citizen* an effective means to the civic development of students?

The study reported in this monograph, conducted at Indiana University, Bloomington by the Social Studies Development Center and the Indiana Center for Evaluation, was designed to evaluate the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. This inquiry began in August of 1999 and ended with the publication of this monograph in November of 2000.

## Questions of an Inquiry to Evaluate *Project Citizen*

This inquiry was conducted in response to two sets of major questions (items one and two) and two ancillary questions (items three and four), which are listed below:

1. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania?
   a. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the achievement by adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania of particular kinds of civic knowledge?
   b. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the beliefs of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania about their achievement of particular civic skills?
   c. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the achievement by adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania of particular civic dispositions?
2. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and

Lithuania and particular contextual and personal factors?

a. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular demographic factors?
b. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular programmatic factors?
c. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular instructional factors?
d. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular school-type factors?

3. Between the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and independent of participation in *Project Citizen*, are there differences in the civic development of adolescent students in this study?
4. Is *Project Citizen* differentially effective across the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania?

**Development of the Civic Development Inventory**

An instrument was developed, The Civic Development Inventory (CDI), by which to gather data in response to the questions of this inquiry. The CDI (see Appendix A) was derived from an instrument constructed at the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California. However, the CDI was conceptualized and developed at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University in terms of three components of civic development: civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. Further, the civic dispositions component included five factors: propensity to participate in civic and political life, political interest, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, and political tolerance.

Validity of the factors or dimensions of this instrument was developed by use of expert review and factor analysis with varimax rotation. The reliability of the instrument's measurement of each validated factor was demonstrated by use of Cronbach's alpha. The resulting reliability coefficients are civic knowledge, .57; civic skills, .80; political interest, .52; commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, .51; political tolerance, .70; commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, .69; propensity to participate in civic and political life, .78. Clearly, the weakest constructs or factors were political interest and commitment to the responsibilities of citizenship, both of which failed to reach a reliability coefficient of .55. The

strongest factors were civic skills and propensity to participate in civic and political life, which both had reliability indicators higher than .75.

**Research Design and Methods**

The research design of this inquiry involved 102 classroom groups and 1,412 students in three political units: Indiana in the United States of America, Latvia, and Lithuania. There were non-randomly selected treatment classes (51 with 712 students) and comparison classes (51 with 700 students). Indiana had 20 pairs of classes (275 treatment class students and 267 comparison class students); Latvia had 13 pairs of classes (139 and 126 students); and Lithuania had 18 pairs of classes (298 and 307 students). Every student responded to a pretest and a posttest, the Civic Development Inventory (see Appendix A), which was constructed to gather data relevant to the research questions of this inquiry. Further, every teacher involved in this inquiry responded to the *Project Citizen* Teacher Questionnaire (see Appendix C).

Personal and contextual data about students and teachers, gathered through responses to items of The Civic Development Inventory and Teacher Questionnaire, were used to demonstrate comparability between treatment and comparison classes of students. This evidence for equivalence between pairs of classes warranted the claim that the treatment, *Project Citizen*, explained the positive differences in civic development between treatment and comparison groups, not existing differences in personal and contextual data associated with individuals in the paired classes. To ensure the preprogram similarity or comparability of treatment and comparison classes, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was used. The results (see Table 4.2) indicated that there were no significant differences between treatment and comparison classes across selected student, teacher, or school characteristics within each political unit – Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania – and across all three political units of this inquiry.

Data pertaining to the first set of research questions of this inquiry – about the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in three political units (Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania) – were analyzed through the use of two-way univariate and multivariate analyses of covariance (ANCOVA and MANCOVA). The classroom group, not the individual student, was the unit of analysis in order to avoid misrepresentation or exaggeration of positive program effects. *Project Citizen* is a classroom-based instructional treatment offered to individual students nested within classes. Thus, the impact of the treatment on an individual student was impossible to separate from the effective-

ness of the teacher and the characteristics of the other students of the class in which the individual experienced the program.

In this study, the 102 classes of students (51 treatment and 51 comparison) were the units of analysis in order to avoid misleading claims about the positive and significant effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of students. For each class (in both the pretest and posttest), mean student performance on each of seven factors (civic knowledge, civic skills, and five civic dispositions) was calculated and aggregated by class. Differences in means between treatment groups and comparison groups were analyzed to determine statistical significance across political units by two-way ANCOVA and MANCOVA.

The second set of research questions pertained to personal and contextual characteristics that might have contributed to explanations of significant differences in *Project Citizen's* effects on students, which were revealed by analyses of data in response to the first set of questions. The student, not the class, was the appropriate unit of analysis for this facet of the inquiry. Thus, stepwise multiple regression techniques were applied to four sets of data pertaining to various personal and contextual factors.

The two ancillary questions of this inquiry (items three and four) addressed differences across and between the three political units – either in the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* or in the baseline level of students' civic development. Two-way analysis of covariance was used to analyze concurrently data pertaining to the first major set of research questions and the two ancillary research questions.

## Findings

*Project Citizen* appeared to affect students' civic development positively and significantly across three political units: Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. The positive effects on students' civic development were consistent across the three political units, which suggests that the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* was not dependent upon or mediated by the country in which it was used.

**Civic Knowledge.** *Project Citizen* had a positive and statistically significant effect on the civic knowledge of students across the three political units of this inquiry: Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. After accounting for pretest differences, the mean posttest score of treatment classes was much larger than the score of the control or comparison classes (1.43 and .92, respectively; see Tables 6.1 and 6.2). This difference was statistically significant at the .05 level.

**Civic Skills.** *Project Citizen* had a positive and statistically significant effect on the self-perceived civic skills of students in Indiana, Latvia, and

Lithuania. After participating in the program, students in treatment classes perceived themselves to possess more civic skills than students in comparison classes, who were not exposed to *Project Citizen*. After accounting for pretest differences, the mean posttest score of treatment classes on civic skills was significantly larger across the three political units of this inquiry than that of the comparison classes (3.17 and 3.04, respectively; see Tables 6.4 and 6.5). This difference was statistically significant at the .05 level.

**Civic Dispositions.** There was a statistically significant and positive effect of *Project Citizen* on students' propensity to participate in civic and political life. After accounting for pretest differences, the mean posttest score of treatment classes on one civic disposition, propensity to participate, was significantly larger across the three political units of this inquiry than that of the comparison classes (2.21 and 1.89, respectively; see Tables 6.7 and 6.8). This difference was statistically significant at the .05 level. *Project Citizen* did not have a statistically significant impact on four civic dispositions: political interest, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, and political tolerance (see Tables 6.7 and 6.8).

**Consistency of *Project Citizen's* Effects Across Political Units.** The positive effects of *Project Citizen* on students' civic development were not dependent upon the political unit – Indiana, Latvia, or Lithuania – in which the instructional treatment was experienced. Effects were largely consistent across the three political units indicating that they were neither enhanced nor mediated by the political unit in which students experienced *Project Citizen*. The program appeared to be equally effective across the three political units of this study (see Tables 6.2, 6.5, and 6.8).

**Differences Between Political Units in Students' Civic Development.** Independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*, students of this study in Lithuania demonstrated a significantly higher level of civic knowledge than students of this study in Indiana and Latvia. Further, students in Latvia and Lithuania had significantly more political interest than students in Indiana. By contrast, the Indiana students exhibited a significantly higher level of self-perceived civic skills than their counterparts in Latvia. However, differences in students' civic development between the three political units of this study, apart from their participation in *Project Citizen*, were neither extensive nor profound (see Tables 6.3, 6.6, and 6.9).

**Personal and Contextual Variables.** The statistically significant and positive effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of students were generally not related to or explained by various personal and contextual factors examined in this study. There were five exceptions: the student's perceived level of participation in *Project Citizen*, mother's level of education, type of issue selected for investigation, implementation of

the proposed policy, and curricular implementation of *Project Citizen*. The student's self-perceived level of participation or involvement in *Project Citizen* was the variable most strongly related to gains in civic development. A higher level of the mother's educational attainment was also associated with greater gain in the student's civic development. Some of the explained variance in student gains in civic development could be attributed to the type of curricular implementation of *Project Citizen;* that is, use of the instructional treatment in an extra-curricular format or in a combination of curricular and extra-curricular formats resulted in greater student gains in civic development than use of the program solely in the regular curriculum. Further, students gained more in civic development when they investigated an issue in the school instead of the larger community outside the school. Finally, attempted implementation of the students' resolution of a community-based or school-based issue was associated with substantially more gain in civic development. (See Table 6.10.)

**Recommendations**

This evaluation of *Project Citizen* suggests that the program can be used to promote the civic development of adolescent students in various countries in different parts of the world. These findings about the program's instructional effectiveness, however, are not definitive. More research is needed to investigate strengths and weaknesses of *Project Citizen*. In subsequent research about *Project Citizen's* effects on students' civic development, the conceptualization, design, methods, and instrumentation of this study might be used, with appropriate modifications, to conduct inquiries that could confirm, alter, or expand findings of this inquiry.

In particular, curriculum developers, teachers, and researchers might collaboratively explore means to improve *Project Citizen's* impact on students' civic dispositions. The related-research literature indicates that civic dispositions tend to be resistant to change as a consequence of "one-shot" and short-term exposure to an instructional treatment. Thus, it is notable that *Project Citizen* had a positive impact on one civic disposition, propensity to participate. A broader impact on civic dispositions might be achieved through pointed, detailed instruction about such factors as political tolerance, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, and political interest. It seems that long-term, in-depth instruction targeted directly to dispositional change is a key to improving *Project Citizen's* impact on a broad range of civic dispositions in addition to propensity to participate in civic and political life.

Findings of this inquiry suggest additional means to enhance *Project Citizen's* impact on students' civic development, such as the following recommendations:

- Involve all students in the class maximally as participants in all aspects of the program.
- Emphasize school-based public policy issues, but not to the exclusion of community-based issues that strongly attract the attention and interest of students.
- Encourage students to attempt implementation of the policy they proposed to resolve a public issue.
- Implement the program through a combination of curricular and extra-curricular activities.
- Avoid brief and irregular involvement of students in *Project Citizen;* rather, integrate the program as fully as possible into the curricular foundations and extra-curricular activities of the school.
- Expand the civic knowledge component of *Project Citizen* and strengthen connections and interactions of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions through instructional activities of the program.

In general, this study found *Project Citizen* to be worthy of continued use in various educational settings in different parts of the world. The continued implementation of the program as a means to students' civic development in a democracy should be investigated through subsequent research, which might be assisted by the conceptualization, instrumentation, design, and methods of the inquiry reported in this monograph, "*Project Citizen* and the Civic Development of Adolescent Students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania." In the meantime, as educators around the world await new findings from subsequent research, they have justification, based on findings reported in this monograph, for using *Project Citizen* to achieve positive instructional outcomes: significant gains in the civic development of students.

# 1

# Introduction to an Evaluation of *Project Citizen*

*Thomas S. Vontz and John J. Patrick*

The vitality of democracy depends upon the quality of its citizens. If citizens are unwilling or unable to participate responsibly and effectively in civic and political life, then their democracy will wither and die. There is an indispensable connection, therefore, between a sustainable democracy and the effective education of its people for their roles as citizens. Education for democratic citizenship through schools and other institutions and organizations of the society is a principal means to the maintenance and improvement of a democratic polity. In established democracies, such as the United States of America, and in nascent democracies of post-communist countries, there is a never-ending effort to design and implement instructional methods and materials that work to bring about the civic development of students, which involves the teaching and learning of essential civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions.

There are many claims about what does or does not work in education for democratic citizenship, but there is a dearth of evidence to confirm or provide warrants for the instructional worth of particular methods and materials. There is a great need, therefore, to investigate the effects of popular instructional treatments on the civic development of students. In response to the need of civic educators to assess the effectiveness of particular instructional treatments, this monograph reports the conceptualization, methodology, and findings of a recent inquiry to evaluate *We the People . . . Project Citizen*. The widespread use of *Project Citizen* throughout the world makes this study significant. *Project Citizen* currently is used in all 50 states of the United States of America and more than 30 other countries around the world including Albania, Argentina, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Brazil, China, Columbia, Croatia, Czech Republic, Dominican Republic, Hungary, Indonesia, Ireland, Israel, Jordan,

Kazakhstan, Kosovo, Latvia, Lebanon, Lithuania, Macedonia, Mexico, Mongolia, Nicaragua, Nigeria, Oman, Palestine, Poland, Romania, Russia, Slovakia, and Uruguay. Educators in several other countries are considering implementation of the program.[1]

The inquiry reported in this monograph addresses the need to examine carefully the effects of *Project Citizen* on the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship that it aims to foster among students. Findings are reported about the program's impact on students in three political units: the state of Indiana in the United States and two post-communist countries in eastern Europe, Latvia, and Lithuania. The remainder of this chapter (1) describes the substance and methods of an instructional treatment, *Project Citizen*; (2) discusses the rationale and aims of *Project Citizen*; (3) specifies the research questions and defines the key terms of this inquiry about *Project Citizen*; and (4) acknowledges the limitations of this inquiry about *Project Citizen*.

## Substance and Methods of an Instructional Treatment: *We the People . . . Project Citizen*

First implemented in California in 1992 and expanded into a national program in 1995 by the Center for Civic Education and the National Conference of State Legislatures, *Project Citizen* is an issue-based instructional treatment to develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship that enable and encourage participation in government and civil society. The program challenges students to become involved actively with governmental and civil society organizations to address a school or community problem and to acquire the social and intellectual capital necessary for responsible democratic citizenship. The purpose of *Project Citizen*, then, is to motivate and empower students to exercise the rights and responsibilities of democratic citizenship through the intensive study of a public policy issue in their school or community. The instructional materials are designed to help students learn to monitor and influence public policy, to develop skills needed for responsible and effective citizenship, and to become confident in their exercise of the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. *Project Citizen* gives adolescent students the opportunity to participate in government and civil society while practicing critical thinking, dialogue, debate, negotiation, cooperation, civility, tolerance, decision making, and civic action for the common good.[2]

[1]Center for Civic Education, "*Project Citizen* Around the World," *Center Correspondent* (Spring 1999): 9.

[2]Center for Civic Education, *We the People . . . Project Citizen: A Professional Development Manual* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1998), H-1.

Although designed for use by middle school students in social studies classrooms, *Project Citizen* has also been used at the upper elementary and high school levels in language arts, science, and interdisciplinary courses with students of all ability levels. Given 50-minute class periods, the program is typically a six-week course of study that is used to supplement an existing course within the framework of a standard curriculum. The program has been used in Latvia, however, as an intensive one week (full-days) curriculum and other places as a stand-alone course of study throughout an entire semester.

The teacher's role is primarily one of coach or facilitator – guiding students to new sources of information, helping to arrange contacts, and providing students with other helpful suggestions during their inquiry. The teacher's guide explains each step of the inquiry process, provides many additional resources (for example, suggested teaching strategies, guidelines for conducting a simulated hearing), and equips teachers with evaluation rubrics for the students' written and oral performances. The student edition includes several assignments designed to assist students through each step of the program, criteria for completion of each assignment, a glossary of terms, and appendices to assist students in locating the resources needed for in-depth study of public policy issues.

For many classes, the first step of the *Project Citizen* program, selecting the problem to study, is the most difficult.[3] Students are often so successful at brainstorming problems in their schools (for example, trash in the school courtyard, attendance, grading scales, violence) and in their communities (for example, "brown fields," lack of sidewalks, water pollution, or the discriminatory practices of local businesses) that they have a hard time selecting one problem to study. The program then asks students to investigate the significance of potential problems by interviewing community members and reviewing media resources for information about the problem.[4] Once the class is confident that it has obtained enough information about the problems under consideration to make an informed decision, the students vote on which problem to study. Although not a formal part of the curriculum, many teachers ask students to develop criteria to judge the worth of potential problems (for example, importance of the problem, feasibility of study).

After selecting an important issue, the class is divided into research teams to gather information from multiple sources, such as libraries, newspapers, community members, community organizations, legislative offices, administrative agencies, and electronic sources. Information is

[3]Ibid., xvii.

[4]Center for Civic Education, *We the People . . . Project Citizen*. Student Edition (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1998), 11-15.

gathered through a variety of means, such as the World Wide Web, telephone, personal interview, and letter writing. The student text provides documentation forms on each source, which are designed to guide analysis of the acquired information. The class is again divided into cooperative groups to carry out four stages of inquiry and engagement in the public policy-making process:

- *Explaining the problem.* This group is responsible for explaining the problem the class has chosen to study. The group also should explain why the problem is important and why that level of government or government agency should deal with it.
- *Evaluating alternative policies to deal with the problem.* This group is responsible for developing and justifying alternative public policies that the class examines and evaluates.
- *Developing a public policy the class will support.* This group is responsible for developing and justifying a specific public policy that the majority of the class agrees to support.
- *Developing an action plan to get government to accept the class policy.* This group is responsible for developing an action plan showing how citizens can influence their government to adopt the policy the class supports.[5]

Once the students have selected a policy to address the problem, the entire class is asked to consider whether or not the proposed policy interferes with individual rights such as freedom of speech, due process rights, privacy rights, or equal protection of the laws. Students are asked to defend the constitutionality of their proposed policy in writing.

The work of the cooperative groups is displayed in a four-part portfolio exhibit and documentation binder. Students include written statements, charts, graphs, and/or original art work in each section of the portfolio and provide evidence of their research in the documentation binder. The student textbook outlines general criteria for all sections of the portfolio and specific criteria and suggestions for each individual section.[6]

The culminating activity for the program is a simulated legislative hearing in which students demonstrate their knowledge by playing the role of expert witnesses. They testify about their portfolio before community members, who play the role of state legislators. The format of the simulated hearing offers students an opportunity to demonstrate their knowledge and understanding of how public policy is formulated while providing teachers with an alternative means of assessing student performance. During the hearing, each of the four portfolio groups prepares

[5] Ibid., 24-25.
[6] Ibid., 26-32.

and presents a four-minute statement on its section of the portfolio. After each opening statement, the panel of community members has six minutes to ask the students of each panel questions and judge the quality of each team's work according to specific evaluation rubrics provided to each judge. According to the student textbook, there are four basic goals of these simulated legislative hearings:

- To inform the audience of the importance of the problem identified in the community.
- To explain and evaluate alternative policies so that an audience can understand the advantages and disadvantages of each alternative.
- To discuss the class's choice as the "best" policy to deal with the problem and "make the case" for that policy. To make and support the class's view that the proposed policy does not violate the Constitution, constitutional law, or statutory law.
- To demonstrate how the class could develop support for its policy in the community, as well as in the legislative and executive branches of the appropriate level of government.[7]

In the United States of America and in several other countries throughout the world, *Project Citizen* teachers and students are encouraged to participate in local, regional, state, or national simulated hearings that are competitive. Although not a requirement for participation in the program, the competitions serve as a way to motivate student learning, reward student achievement, and highlight the program to members of the community and potential funding agencies. In Indiana, for example, there are three regional competitions (in Lafayette, Evansville, and Indianapolis) and one state competition (in Indianapolis) conducted annually during the spring semester. Some teachers using *Project Citizen* prefer to conduct in-school hearings and choose not to participate in a competition. Many of these teachers have expressed a general disdain of academic competitions while others simply have a difficult time fitting the competition into a tight curriculum and feel pressured to move quickly to other topics and concerns.

Participation in the program is voluntary in Indiana and throughout the United States; *Project Citizen* is also a voluntary instructional activity in the curriculum of schools in Latvia, Lithuania, and other post-communist countries of central and eastern Europe. Limited sets of free materials (classroom sets of student textbooks, teacher's guides, and student certificates) are available and help to encourage participation. The amount of professional development teachers receive prior to implementing the program varies. Some teachers receive no professional development

[7]Ibid., 33.

before instituting the program, some have participated in brief workshops (two hours to a full day), while others have participated in more extensive "summer institutes" lasting up to four days. During the more extensive professional development workshops and institutes, teachers typically go through an abbreviated version of the program. They produce a portfolio and documentation binder, and they participate in simulated congressional hearings.

### The Rationale and Aims of *Project Citizen*

The rationale for *Project Citizen* rests on a five-part framework of educational and political ideas. First, democracy involves self-government and therefore active and informed engagement of citizens in civic life.[8] An essential component of citizen engagement is participation in the public policy-making process.[9] Thus, students learn to monitor and influence public policy and to develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions essential for engagement in civic life.

Second, students are supposed to learn how to become engaged in civic life by engaging in it, by doing citizenship.[10] Students involved in hands-on, experiential learning presumably are more engaged and motivated than those who do not participate in this kind of activity. Further, the content of civic education presumably is enriched when students participate actively in political and civic life.[11] Educators in the natural sciences realized long ago the value of laboratory experiences to enhance theoretical learning. The same concept, according to the producers of *Project Citizen*, holds true for civic education, where the laboratory is the community in which the child goes to school. The developers of *Project Citizen* claim that the best way to encourage civic development among young people is to have them participate in the public policy-making process.

Third, as students explore problems in their own communities, they are afforded many opportunities to deliberate on fundamental tensions at the heart of a democracy, such as those involving individual rights and the common good, majority rule and minority rights, and liberty and equality.[12] These tensions and the principles of democracy pertaining to them constitute the core of essential civic knowledge, which enables students to become responsible and effective citizens.

[8] Margaret Stimmann Branson, "*Project Citizen:* An Introduction" (Paper prepared for *We the People . . . Project Citizen* Summer Institute, Indianapolis, IN, July 24-29, 1999), 2-3.

[9] Ibid., 8-11.

[10] Ibid., 5-6.

[11] Ibid., 6.

[12] Ibid.

Fourth, *Project Citizen* is intended for use primarily by students of the middle school or early adolescent years (approximately ages 10-15); but it is also used with older adolescents in some schools. During the middle school years and beyond, students struggle to form their own identities and according to the Center for Civic Education, they need to be given opportunities to explore their connection to their communities. Most early adolescents begin to move from concrete to abstract thinking and often struggle with issues of right and wrong, legitimacy of authority, and alternative answers to troubling situations.[13] During adolescence, students form the attitudes and embrace the values they will likely hold for the rest of their lives. Adolescent students tend to be curious about the environment that surrounds them, including their civic community; and they need real world experiences to explore their connection to civic life.

Fifth, *Project Citizen* treats the young as a civic resource, as valuable members of the community whose ideas and energy can be positively applied to public policy issues.[14] Instead of merely preparing students for roles they will assume later in life, *Project Citizen* requires them to participate as citizens. According to the developers of *Project Citizen*, such participation is not only a better vehicle to promote the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship, it is also better for the community as the students help local governmental and civil society organizations work through important community issues. Such participation and involvement is supposed to help young people feel their connections to their communities and to recognize their contributions to resolution of community problems.

The problem under investigation differs from class to class (for example, trash in the school courtyard, teenage pregnancy, water pollution in the river, pot holes on main street, "brown fields," lack of sidewalks to and from school). However, the civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that are supposed to be learned and fostered through the program are similar, regardless of the issue selected. In regard to civic knowledge, *Project Citizen* is intended to enable students to understand important public policy issues in their own communities, the governmental and non-governmental organizations that contribute to addressing public policy issues, and the meaning of democratic governance. Students are also expected to learn other important concepts that emanate directly from the problem under investigation. Certain basic concepts and political processes are taught to all students no matter what problem is selected or where it is addressed.

[13] Ibid., 5.
[14] Ibid., 5-6.

In addition to civic knowledge, *Project Citizen* aims to foster a variety of civic skills important for democratic citizenship. The various facets of the program and student interactions with their classmates, governmental agencies, and non-governmental organizations during the intensive study of a community issue allows students multiple opportunities to practice certain intellectual skills and participatory skills. Further, through their participation in *Project Citizen*, students have an opportunity to develop various civic dispositions of democratic citizenship, such as a sense of political efficacy, political interest, political toleration, commitment to the exercise of the rights of democratic citizenship, commitment to the exercise of the responsibilities of democratic citizenship, commitment to constitutionalism, and the propensity for political participation. These traits of character, which may be developed through practices and processes of *Project Citizen*, encourage responsible and effective participation by citizens in their democracy.

### Questions and Key Terms of an Inquiry to Evaluate *Project Citizen*

The inquiry reported in this monograph was an evaluation of *Project Citizen's* effects on the **civic development** of adolescent students in three political units – Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania.[15] Students and teachers selected for participation in this inquiry were located in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania because of the relatively extensive use of *Project Citizen* in these three political units. Further, the co-directors of the inquiry reported in this monograph had access to classrooms in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania because of their prior involvement in the implementation of *Project Citizen* in these three political units. The Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, where the co-directors of this inquiry are employed, has been the locus of projects in civic education directed to schools in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania during the 1990's. The co-directors of this inquiry, therefore, have had extensive experience with the political and educational systems of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. This experience contributed significantly to their ability to design and implement this inquiry to evaluate the instructional effects of *Project Citizen* on the **civic development** of adolescent students in the three political units.

**Civic development,** a key concept of this inquiry, denotes one's achievement of civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. It enables responsible and effective participation by citizens in their democ-

[15]The design and methodology of this inquiry are discussed in Chapter Four of this monograph.

racy. The concept of civic development commonly appears in the scholarly literature in civic education and political theory.[16]

Civic development is a central theme in the four research questions listed below, two major sets of questions and two ancillary questions, which guided the inquiry reported in this monograph.[17] The first major set of questions pertained directly to the impact of an instructional treatment, *Project Citizen*, on the civic development of students. The second major set of questions pertained to contextual and personal factors that may have had more or less impact in combination with *Project Citizen* on the civic development of students. Research questions three and four were ancillary to the two major sets of questions. Ancillary question three addressed the extent to which there were differences between the three political units in students' civic development apart from their participation in *Project Citizen*. Ancillary question four addressed the extent to which *Project Citizen* was differentially effective across the three political units of this study. The research questions are listed below:

1. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania?
   a. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the achievement by adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania of particular kinds of civic knowledge?
   b. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the beliefs of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania about their achievement of particular civic skills?
   c. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the achievement by adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania of particular civic dispositions?
2. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular contextual and personal factors?
   a. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular demographic factors?
   b. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular programmatic factors?
   c. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on

[16] Richard G. Niemi and Chris Chapman, *The Civic Development of 9th- Through 12th-Grade Students in the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1999).

[17] Findings of this inquiry, the responses to the guiding questions listed here, are reported in Chapter Six of this monograph.

the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular instructional factors?

d. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular school-type factors?

3. Between the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and independent of participation in *Project Citizen*, are there differences in the civic development of adolescent students in this study?
4. Is *Project Citizen* differentially effective across the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania?

Key terms of the preceding set of questions, which guided this inquiry to evaluate *Project Citizen*, are identified and defined below. Operational definitions of dependent variables are presented in Chapter Four of this monograph.

**Civic development** is the primary and overarching concept of this inquiry. It refers to the individual's growth in civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions, which fosters and enables responsible, effective participation of citizens in the civic and political life of a democracy.

**Civic knowledge**, denoted by the overarching idea of civic development, refers to the concepts, principles, and practices of democracy in government and civil society. The acquisition and growth of civic knowledge enables one to know what democracy is and what it is not and how to participate effectively and responsibly as a citizen in a democracy. This inquiry on *Project Citizen* involved a limited but significant set of concepts in the theory and practice of democracy: public policy issues, non-government organizations that constitute civil society, and the defining characteristics of democratic government.

*Project Citizen* is not designed primarily and pervasively to teach basic civic knowledge. Rather, its objectives and procedures emphasize fundamental processes of democratic citizenship, which involve civic skills and civic dispositions. Thus, the civic knowledge component of civic development in this evaluation of *Project Citizen* is not as extensive in scope or depth as the civic skills or civic dispositions components.

**Civic skills**, denoted by the overarching concept of civic development, refer to those intellectual skills and participatory skills that enable one to act effectively as a citizen in the political and civic life of a democracy. **Intellectual skills** refer to such cognitive capacities as identifying and describing phenomena; explaining and analyzing events and issues; and evaluating, taking, and defending positions in response to public issues. **Participatory skills** refer to such social abilities as interacting with others to achieve common goals; monitoring public policy issues and govern-

mental responses to them; and acting alone or with others to influence the resolution of public policy issues.

**Civic dispositions**, denoted by the overarching concept of civic development, refer to those traits of public and private character that enable one to exercise rights and responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy and to promote the common good of the society. The following civic dispositions were considered in this inquiry:

- **Political interest** is the degree to which one monitors and is attentive to politics and the government.
- **Sense of political efficacy** is the degree to which one believes that he or she can personally influence the democratic political order.
- **Political tolerance** is the degree to which one supports and respects the rights of those with whom one strongly disagrees or dislikes.
- **Propensity to participate** is the degree to which one believes he or she is likely to participate in civic and political life (for example, voting, participating in civic groups, running for office) in the future.
- **Commitment to rights of citizenship** is the degree to which one is resolved to employ citizenship rights (for example, the right to vote, free speech, equality before the law).
- **Commitment to responsibilities of citizenship** is the degree to which one is resolved to fulfill the obligations of citizenship (for example, paying taxes, obeying laws, participating in civic life to promote the common good).
- **Commitment to constitutionalism** is the degree to which one is supportive of the rule of law in a government that is both empowered and limited by a constitution.

**Adolescent students** are persons between the ages of 10-18 in middle schools and high schools (grades 5-12), whose period of human development is marked by significant intellectual, emotional, and physical growth.

*Project Citizen* is an instructional treatment designed to bring about civic development among adolescent students, which is the focus of the inquiry reported in this monograph.

**Contextual and personal factors** refer to particular demographic, programmatic, instructional, and school-type variables that may be more or less related to the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in achieving its desired outcomes.

**Demographic factors** refer to such characteristics of students as age, ethnic identity, gender, grade-level in school, educational attainment of parents, and the student's level of expectation about attending a university or comparable institution of higher education. These demographic characteristics may be more or less related to the civic development of adolescent students involved in the *Project Citizen* program.

**Programmatic factors** refer to such procedures in the classroom administration of *Project Citizen* as the greater or lesser participation of particular students in the activities of the program, the manner by which issues in the program were selected for investigation, the types of issues, the manner of concluding the program through some kind of culminating activity or the omission of a culminating activity, and the level of success by the students in their implementation of the proposed class policy. These programmatic characteristics may be more or less related to the civic development of adolescent students in the *Project Citizen* program.

**Instructional factors** refer to characteristics of the teachers and their implementation of *Project Citizen*. The extent of the teacher's prior involvement in professional development experiences designed to prepare one to effectively implement *Project Citizen* in the classroom, the extent of the teacher's prior experience in using *Project Citizen* with students, and the teacher's years of experience as a classroom instructor are examples of instructional factors. These instructional factors may be more or less related to the civic development of adolescent students in the *Project Citizen* program.

**School-type factors** refer to the rural or urban location of the school in which *Project Citizen* was used and whether the school is public or private. These school-type factors may be more or less related to the civic development of adolescent students in the *Project Citizen* program.

### Limitations of this Inquiry to Evaluate *Project Citizen*

Limitations of the inquiry to evaluate *Project Citizen* must be recognized.[18] A primary limitation of this study is that it is restricted to an examination of the use of *Project Citizen* among students in three political units: Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. The data and interpretations drawn from them are not fully generalizable to other states in the United States of America or to other countries where the program is also used.

This inquiry involved a pretest and posttest of treatment classes and comparison classes of non-randomly assigned students. Because this quasi-experimental study employed a convenience sample, the study was limited by the differential selection of treatment and comparison classes. The treatment classes consisted of students, who after selection into *Project Citizen* by their teacher agreed to participate in the study. The comparison classes were selected on the basis of their similarity to the treatment classes (age, grade level, ability level, education level of parents)

[18] A detailed discussion of the research methods and their limitations, and how to respond to them, is provided in Chapter Four.

and their willingness to participate in the evaluation. This selection procedure, although necessary given the nature of the *Project Citizen* program in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and the limited resources of the study, further limits this inquiry. Without random selection, there was no way to ensure that the treatment and comparison groups were truly similar. Thus, it can be argued that existing differences between the treatment and comparison classes contributed to variance between them and not the instructional treatment, *Project Citizen*.

Differences among the teachers of this evaluation contributed to another limitation of the study. Wherever possible, treatment class teachers used another of their classes to serve as the comparison class. Where this was not possible (for example, when treatment teachers did not teach a similar class that was not using *Project Citizen*), treatment group teachers helped to select a very similar class in the same school, if possible, or in a nearby and similar school, if not. It is still possible that some of the differences between performances of students is related to differences among the teachers, not primarily to *Project Citizen* as an instructional treatment.

Finally, the study is further limited by the different persons who administered the tests. Although the test administrator for a single class was the same for the pretests and the posttests across treatment and comparison classes, there were different test administrators for pretests as well as different administrators for the posttests between classes. Although all of the test administrators were given an identical protocol to follow, there is still a risk that the test administrators have accounted for some of the difference in scores between the treatment and comparison classes. Again, given the size of the study and limited resources, it was impossible to use the same administrator for both pretests and posttests with all classes.

# 2

# Historical and Philosophical Foundations of *Project Citizen*

*Thomas S. Vontz and John J. Patrick*

*Project Citizen*, a recent publication of the Center for Civic Education, has deep roots in long-standing theories of education and democracy.[1] American philosophers of education and democracy have proclaimed and promoted ideas at the foundation of *Project Citizen* throughout the twentieth century, with varying degrees of success in the schools and society. Prominent once again during a time of civic renewal, the old underlying assumptions and overt aims adopted by the developers of *Project Citizen* are riding a new high tide of public approval in the United States and many countries around the world. These long-standing ideas have become especially interesting to educators in post-communist countries in central and eastern Europe and regions of the former Soviet Union.

What are the venerable antecedents of *Project Citizen*, the sources of its goals, rationale, and processes? In response to this question, this chapter includes a three-part discussion of *Project Citizen's* roots in theories of education and democracy. **First**, there is an examination of educational philosophy in the Progressive era of United States history to identify antecedent ideas at the foundation of *Project Citizen*. **Second**, there is discussion of precursors of *Project Citizen* in the twentieth-century history of education in the United States. **Third**, *Project Citizen* is situated within the context of democratic political theory.

## *Project Citizen* in the Context of Progressive-era Educational Philosophy

*Project Citizen's* roots are planted firmly in the educational philosophy

[1] In Chapter One of this volume, there is a detailed description of *Project Citizen*.

of the Progressive era in United States history, from the late nineteenth century to the early years of the twentieth century.[2] So many educational theories and practices have been classified as "progressive" that Lawrence Cremin chose not to attempt a definition of the movement in his history of progressive education.[3] In this section, therefore, we neither attempt to define progressive education nor to tease out distinctions among various conceptions of it. Rather, we examine only certain ideas of three Progressive-era philosophers, Francis Parker, John Dewey, and William Heard Kilpatrick, because they can be connected directly to the goals, rationale, content, and pedagogy of *Project Citizen*.

Although not trained as a philosopher, Colonel Francis Parker had a tremendous impact on the theory and practice of progressive education, especially issue-centered civic education. John Dewey even referred to Parker as the father of progressive education.[4] Colonel Parker, who was heavily influenced by Johann Pestalozzi, Friedrich Froebel, and Johann Herbart during three years of study in Germany, despised the dead, artificial, and formalistic education that traditionally ruled the day in schools. He built a theory of education for democracy to liberate children from tyranny, oppression, and abuse.[5]

Education, according to Parker, should be child-centered and based upon the natural, instinctive curiosity of the child. "The child instinctively begins all the subjects known in the curriculum of the university. He begins them because he cannot help it; his very nature impels him."[6] For Parker, the greatest educational resources of any school were the children themselves.

> The social factor in school is the greatest factor of all; it stands higher than subjects of learning, than methods of teaching, or than the teacher. That which children learn from each other in play and work is the highest that is

[2]Jack L. Nelson, "The Historical Imperative for Issue-Centered Education," in *Handbook on Teaching Social Issues*, edited by Ronald Evans and David Warren Saxe (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1996), 15-24. See also, Thomas S. Vontz and William Nixon, "Reconsidering Issue-Centered Civic Education Among Early Adolescents: *We the People . . . Project Citizen* in the United States and Abroad" in *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects*, edited by Charles F. Bahmueller and John J. Patrick (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 143.

[3]Lawrence Cremin, *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962).

[4]Ibid., 135.

[5]Francis W. Parker, *Talks on Pedagogics: An Outline of the Theory of Concentration* (New York: E. L. Kellogg & Company 1894), 341.

[6]Ibid., 17.

> ever learned. . . . This mingling, fusing, and blending give personal power, and make the public school a tremendous force for the upbuilding [sic] of democracy.[7]

Teachers should not, according to Parker, be concerned with the coverage of content in traditional school subjects. Rather, they should stress teaching and learning in depth through a curriculum of integrated or fused subjects organized in terms of social issues or problems. Parker wrote:

> If the quality of mental action is right, the quantity will take care of itself. The reason why most students have, after long years of painful, arduous drudgery, so little mental power, is that their whole ideal is the acquisition of a quantity of facts; they have never had any exercise in quality of action; their minds are simply passive receptacles, taking without resistance that which comes from supposed authorities.[8]

Parker believed the community of the child, although potentially important in all aspects of education, was especially important in civic education. "The true foundation of civics is community life."[9] Through interactions with their community in their neighborhood and school, children spontaneously and naturally learn important lessons in civics. How the school, for example, is organized and experienced by the child influences the political character and civic development of the child.[10] The goal of both education and humanity for Parker was freedom, which could only be achieved through an adequate education in a democratic society. The social relations and conditions of the school, therefore, should be organized like an embryonic democracy that would foster a sense of civic responsibility in students. According to Parker, democracy depends on education for democratic civic engagement.[11]

Francis Parker erected part of the philosophical scaffolding for issue-based civic education programs, such as *Project Citizen*, by promoting (1) instruction based on the interests of the child; (2) students learning together cooperatively; and (3) civic education through social experience. Although Parker's speaking ability, and his work as the Superintendent of Schools in Quincy, Massachusetts and as the Principal of the Cook County Normal School in Chicago, had earned him a national reputation as a progressive educator, "he was not terribly effective in articulating a

[7] Ibid., 319.
[8] Ibid., 310.
[9] Ibid., 8.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid., 317.

coherent rationale for his work."[12] The "coherent rationale" for much of what Parker was doing in schools and for progressive education generally came from pragmatist philosopher John Dewey.

Dewey's educational philosophy stressed *inquiry* as both a means and an end. Regardless of the question to be investigated, Dewey advocated the application of intelligent inquiry, understood as the self-correcting method of experimentally testing hypotheses created and refined from previous experience. Dewey called his method of inquiry "reflective thinking." Because it was the only self-correcting method of thinking, Dewey argued that reflective thinking should form the basis of sound educational theory and practice. Dewey maintained that reflective thinking served as a primary tool in the development of democratic institutions.[13] In all cases, he insisted that inquiry take place in a social context that mediates both the terms of the initial problem and its solution, and Dewey claimed that the social context is itself transformed through the process of inquiry.

Although Dewey concluded there are many different ways in which people think and learn, the preferred way of thinking is "reflective thinking." Reflective thinking leads to learning that is functional and practical, learning that becomes part of a person's basic approach to reality. People learn as they dynamically think through *real* problems that pose meaningful questions for inquiry.[14] The conditions that trigger the reflective thinking process, "pre-reflective" situations, are fundamentally important to Dewey's theory of thinking. Reflective thinking is not spontaneous, nor can it be triggered by artificial, ready made problems, for such problems are merely tasks. Pre-reflective situations are perplexities that initiate an emotional response that may or may not develop into a "problem."

Sufficiently perplexed by a situation, a person begins to formulate ideas about how to respond. Dewey identified this process as "suggestion," the first phase of reflective thinking.[15] During this phase people draw upon past experience for possible solutions that are only "suggested," because there is no data to support or refute possible solutions. For people who are unwilling to more actively search for solutions, the thinking may stop here and is therefore neither reflective nor intellectual.

[12] Herbert M. Kliebard, *The Struggle for the American Curriculum, 1893-1958* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 37.

[13] Larry A. Hickman, "John Dewey," in *Philosophy of Education: An Encyclopedia*, edited by J. J. Chambliss (New York: Garland Publishers, 1996), 151.

[14] John Dewey, *How We Think* (Boston: D.C. Heath, 1910), 3-16.

[15] Ibid., 107-108.

According to Dewey, "One can think reflectively only when one is willing to endure suspense and undergo the trouble of searching."[16]

Whenever more than one possible course exists, a state of suspense is created that leads to "intellectualization," the second phase of the reflective thinking process.[17] As the perplexing situation becomes more defined and as the questions to be asked gain clarity and specificity, it is converted into a problem, a well-defined perplexing situation. A problem is a perplexity that has been intellectualized, not just an inconvenience. It is, according to Dewey, intellectual interest that propels people to institute activities and thinking, not merely for the sake of the activity itself, but "for the sake of finding out something."[18] Dewey also maintained that situations that involved children's social relations and interests, interests involving people, were more intense than other vexing situations. In his "Pedagogic Creed," written in 1897, Dewey claimed "that the only true education comes through the stimulation of the child's powers by the demands of the social situation in which he finds himself."[19]

The third phase of reflective thinking, the "guiding idea," involves the use of one suggestion after another as the potential solution to the problem leading to the formulation of a working hypothesis to guide further observation and the collection of more data. The more defined the problem and the questions to be answered, the better potential solutions a person will generate. Insights into the problem from our own experience help us to judge the relative worth of "suggestions."[20]

The fourth phase, "reasoning," is the mental process that transforms our observations, which become data, into an idea. Through reasoning, solutions that seemed feasible at first might be rejected as implausible, and others that seemed implausible at first may be transformed into fruitful possibilities. Reasoning supplies the necessary intervening terms for linking elements of the problem that seemed in conflict with each other into a consistent whole. People with more experience in the problem area or with a special education of it, are better able to reason and thus form a plausible solution to the problem. While Dewey believed that there "must be data at command to supply the considerations required in dealing with the specific difficulty that presented itself," he also believed that schools

[16] Ibid., 16.

[17] Ibid., 108-109.

[18] John Dewey, *Interest and Effort in Education* (Cambridge, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1913), 81-84.

[19] John Dewey, "My Pedagogic Creed," *The School Journal* 54 (January 16, 1897): 77.

[20] Dewey, *How We Think*, 109.

and teachers placed too much emphasis on static, cold-storage knowledge.[21] The ultimate product of reasoning is the formulation of an idea about how to deal with a problem most effectively.

Reflective thinking also requires the testing of the hypothesis by overt or imaginary action, the fifth and final phase. Testing the hypothesis enables "experimental corroboration," verification or refutation of the idea. No matter the outcome, the process of thinking does not end, and the results provide the basis for further refinement during all phases of the thinking process. Although an idea, through testing, might become a tentative conclusion, it always remains open to possible revision with the discovery of new facts. This "practical deliberation" differs from the kind of testing by overt action found in scientific investigations. The scientist performs testing for the sake of knowledge; a person in the reflective thinking process does so to reach a conclusion about a real social problem. Even the failure of an idea through testing is highly instructive. Failure might suggest modifications to the hypothesis or perhaps a new problem altogether. Reflective thinking, it should be noted, aims for a conclusion, however tentative.

Reflective thinking forms the basis of Dewey's general philosophy of education. Throughout his career, Dewey was committed to finding ways to relate his philosophy to contemporary concerns, and no concern outweighed the problem of how to ensure the continuity and improvement of democracy. Schools, he believed, must play a vital role in training youth to become reflectively thinking participants in a democracy. Dewey rarely mentioned the terms civic education or citizenship education in his writing even though the "open-ended purpose" of education was, for Dewey, a more democratic society.[22]

Dewey did not like to separate civic education from any other aspect of education because the entirety of the child's education helped to develop him or her as a good citizen.[23] Citizenship was interwoven into all the social relations of the child. Civic education was a part of the child's relationships as a member of a family, a neighborhood, a church, a city, or any other social organization in which the child was involved. The only moral aim of education was "participation in social life." To accomplish this,

[21] John Dewey, *Democracy and Education: An Introduction to the Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1916), 84.

[22] John Dewey, *Moral Principles of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909), 7-17. In writing the book, Dewey borrowed heavily from an earlier work, "Ethical Principles Underlying Education," in *The Third Yearbook of the National Herbart Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1897), 7-34.

[23] Ibid., 9.

students needed a broad education in art, science, and history, as well as help in developing the "habits of serviceableness."[24] Dewey placed special emphasis, in a democracy, on an education that would allow children to assume leadership and be self-directive.

For Dewey, "the only way to prepare for social life is to engage in social life."[25] The school, as one social institution in the life of a child, should be an embryonic community in which students are able to form positive social relationships. If the school helped students to better understand their social experiences – to break down the barriers that kept them isolated, kept them from knowing – then people could potentially reconstruct society in some more favorable direction in the future. For Dewey, it was as difficult or impossible for students to learn how to participate in social life without doing it as it would be for students to learn how to swim without going near water.[26]

Dewey's commitment to (1) democracy as the open-ended purpose of education; (2) engagement of children in social relations as both the means and the ends of education; and (3) reflective thinking as the model of intellectual development most suitable in education for democracy are important antecedents to issue-centered civic education generally and *Project Citizen* specifically. The steps required of students participating in *Project Citizen*, outlined in Chapter One, closely resemble Dewey's phases of reflective thinking. *Project Citizen* requires careful analysis and investigation of a problem and its solution, cooperative learning in social situations, and learning about civic life by engaging in it, which are consistent with Dewey's general method of education.

Building on Dewey's ideas, William Heard Kilpatrick, a professor at Columbia University's Teachers College and Dewey's disciple, proposed a curriculum based on his "project method" that would eliminate the "selfish individualism" fostered in traditional schools and advance "shared social relationships" and concern for the "welfare of the group."[27]

[24] Ibid., 10-11. Although Dewey viewed education as one way that children participate in social life, his conception of social education differed from that of the Progressive-era sociologists also interested in social education such as Lester Frank Ward, David Snedden, Edward Ross, and Albion Small. Dewey warned against merely preparing children to be efficient members of society or "for any fixed station in life." To this end, Dewey would have been opposed, for example, to the kind of education proposed by David Snedden – providing different levels and kinds of education for different students based on where they would likely end up in society.

[25] Ibid., 14.

[26] Ibid., 13-14.

[27] William Heard Kilpatrick, *The Project Method: The Use of the Purposeful Act in the Educative Process* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1922), 13. The article originally appeared in *Teachers College Bulletin* 19 (September 1918): 319-355.

Kilpatrick's project method engaged students in "wholehearted purposeful activity" in response to salient social problems of great interest to them.[28] The educational process, described by Kilpatrick, reveals similarities between his project method and *Project Citizen*.

> [T]he beginning will usually be with certain local problems and recently emerging social issues, which because of current general interest, have particular appeal to the students. . . . [W]e are not to guide them toward our personal answer, but to the most careful thinking and judging they can do. What the students are to think, what decisions they will reach in these controversial areas, is for them to decide. The result we seek is a person able and disposed to think for himself and act in accordance with his best thinking.[29]

Kilpatrick intended his project method to develop the students' capacities for responsible citizenship in a democracy. But it was not merely preparation for the roles of an adult citizen to be undertaken much later in life. Rather, the project method immediately and practically involved students in the political and civic behavior of a democratic citizen. Thus, Kilpatrick proposed that his project method should pervade the school curriculum. He wrote:

> As the purposeful act is thus the typical unit of the worthy life in a democratic society, so also should it be made the typical unit of school procedure. We of America have for years increasingly desired that education be considered life itself and not mere preparation for later living.[30]

Kilpatrick claimed that the project method was based on the "laws of learning." The purposeful activity, which typically engaged students in the solution of a social problem, provides motivation, "makes available inner resources, guides the process to its preconceived end, and by this satisfying success fixes in the boy's mind and character the successful steps as part and parcel of one whole."[31] According to Kilpatrick, a well-conceived curriculum was based on life itself. Kilpatrick proclaimed that "subject matter was primarily means, not primarily ends."[32] The project method was not simply a method of teaching the various subjects of the curriculum; the project method became the subject itself.

Kilpatrick's project method quickly became popular and attracted a considerable following, particularly in university schools (for example,

[28] Ibid., 1.

[29] William Heard Kilpatrick, *Philosophy of Education* (New York: Macmillan, 1951), 419.

[30] Kilpatrick, *The Project Method*, 6.

[31] Ibid., 9.

[32] William Heard Kilpatrick, "How Shall We Select the Subject Matter of the Elementary School Curriculum," *The Journal of Educational Method* 4 (1924): 3-10.

The Lincoln School at Teachers College). Kilpatrick helped to popularize issue-centered education through his project method and provide it with additional rationale (for example, the educational advantages of the "purposeful act," the importance of involving students in "worthy" real-life situations/projects, and the primacy of process in the pre-collegiate curriculum). John Dewey, however, remained skeptical of a school curriculum based exclusively or even predominately on Kilpatrick's project method. He warned that the projects frequently involved too short a time span and were too casual and trivial to be sufficiently educative.[33] The knowledge gained through the project method was typically technical and not the kind of theoretical knowledge that Dewey's curriculum stressed. So the project method might best be used in combination with other methods and not as the exclusive or even predominate approach to education for democratic citizenship.

Ideas of Francis W. Parker, John Dewey, and William Heard Kilpatrick have been at the core of the foundation on which issue-centered education was built and rests today. *Project Citizen* is one example of the influence of their ideas on education. How were these ideas used in the scholarship or practice of civic education in schools throughout the twentieth century? In response to this question, we next examine the twentieth-century history of social studies education in the United States to find precursors of the goals, rationale, and procedures of *Project Citizen*, which, like Kilpatrick's project method, emanated from the Progressive-era philosophy of education.

## Precursors of *Project Citizen* in the Twentieth-century History of Education in the United States of America

*Project Citizen* can be connected to significant antecedents in the twentieth-century history of issue-centered education in the United States of America. The examples presented here certainly do not represent a thorough treatment of the historical foundations of *Project Citizen*. Rather, they are used to highlight ideas about the theory and practice of issue-centered civic education that are precursors of *Project Citizen*, which illuminate the assumptions and substance of this current instructional product.

During the first quarter of the twentieth century many reformers emphasized involvement of students in the democratic process, especially student government. Authors called for student participation in decisions of their school and community. The best way to prepare students for

[33]John Dewey, *The Way Out of Educational Confusion* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1931), 31.

democratic citizenship, they claimed, was to provide them with experience in self-government.[34] The authors argued that schools, particularly secondary schools, were organized more like aristocracies than democracies.[35] Students attending a school organized on the principles of democracy, they contended, could confront real problems and together formulate real solutions, which would educate them for democratic citizenship.[36]

Henry Bourne, a history professor at Western Reserve University, produced a clear statement on civic education in *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and Secondary School*.[37] The book was intended to help history teachers understand more about the nature and value of their subject.[38] Bourne maintained, however, that an appropriately conceived civic education should include more than the study of history or politics.[39] The aim of instruction in civics, no matter the vehicle, was to provide students with historical knowledge of social institutions, organizational knowledge of the social institutions in their community, and "permanent interest in public life and their sense of responsibility to their fellows."[40] Of the three primary aims of education – student achievement of knowledge, skills, and values or dispositions – the hallmark for Bourne was the values learned or reinforced by instruction.[41] So long as students left school with a strong commitment to the community and their fellow citizens, even if they possessed little knowledge of history

[34] See Henry Neuman, "Moral Values in Pupil Self-Government," in *The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifty-Second Annual Meeting of the National Education Association* (Winona, MN: The Association, 1913), 41-45; Richard Welling, "Self Government in Secondary Schools," in *The Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the Fifty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the National Education Association* (Winona, MN: The Association, 1915), 109-113.

[35] Welling, 110.

[36] Neuman, 42.

[37] Henry E. Bourne, *The Teaching of History and Civics in the Elementary and Secondary School* (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company, 1905). Bourne is representative of a number of young historians during the Progressive era who embraced recent advancements in the social sciences to help people understand more about themselves and "the problems and prospects of mankind." According to the view of many "new historians," the field of history needed to broaden its view of history by concentrating less on important political events and more on attempting to recapture and reconstruct important developments in the society at large. Historical topics needed to be selected based upon their relevance to students' own circumstances and those with general, but current, social significance. See James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), 17.

[38] Bourne, 93-105.

[39] Ibid., 99.

[40] Ibid., 104-105.

[41] Ibid., 99.

or political science, their instruction in civics, according to Bourne, would have been successful.

Jeremiah Jenks, an active participant in Progressive-era debates on civic education and a professor of political economy and politics at Cornell University, outlined his vision of civic education in *Citizenship and the Schools*.[42] Jenks saw the civic purpose of education, especially in the elementary grades, as a unifier of the curriculum.[43] In Jenks' view, civic education should be the core of a comprehensive social education based on the study of social issues or problems of society.[44] For Jenks, the clear purpose of one's civic education or of education generally was "to secure better service from the state, greater willingness and intelligence in curing social evils, and greater zeal in promoting the social good."[45] Knowing the country's history or its political machinery was fine, but students must develop a value of civic commitment or devotion to the public good through the study and resolution of social problems.[46]

For many Progressive-era sociologists and educators, such as Lester Frank Ward, David Snedden, Edward Ross, and Albion Small, civics was a part of a broader construct they labeled social education. They claimed that nineteenth-century education had focused entirely too much on liberal principles and individualism and not enough on community and society.[47]

Edward Alsworth Ross's influential *Social Control* made clear the potential of education to direct and influence social aims and behaviors.[48] Ross advocated education for social efficiency, which meant that schools were to train students for their proper places in society. Whereas the education of the past had focused on the development of the individual, the education of the future, argued Ross, should focus on the development of society. School subjects or academic disciplines that did not promote social efficiency and other societal goals either should be dropped from the curriculum or radically revised to become more relevant to social needs.

David Snedden equated social efficiency in education with the devel-

[42] Jeremiah Jenks, *Citizenship and the Schools* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1906).

[43] Ibid., vii. Jenks believed that all subjects in the curriculum contained elements that could be used to develop good citizenship. The disciplines would be more relevant to the lives of students if their substance were coupled to the goal of citizenship.

[44] Ibid., 18.

[45] Ibid., 6.

[46] Ibid., 84-95.

[47] Lester Frank Ward, *Applied Sociology* (Boston: Ginn, 1906), 13-17.

[48] Edward Alsworth Ross, *Social Control* (New York: Macmillan, 1901), 163-179.

opment of democratic citizenship and doubted the utility of historical study to promote citizenship among students.[49]

Snedden wrote:

> Good citizenship, so far as we can now interpret it, consists in part in the habits which are in the main derived from sources other than a study of history, in part of ideals, in the making of which history and literature can contribute much, and in the possession of knowledge of present problems of such a nature as will enable these citizens, in some degree, to forecast the future, because it is only with reference to the future that, in the last analysis, the citizen can actually act.[50]

Snedden believed that school subjects, such as civics, history, and political economy, should be parts of a well-conceived education for democratic citizenship. However, the study of those subjects in isolation from one another did not make sense to him. He advocated the complete integration or fusion of subject matter through the study of social problems in which the students were directly involved.[51]

Arthur William Dunn's *The Community and the Citizen*, another important work in the development of issue-based civic education during the Progressive era,[52] stressed student action in the community. Dunn hoped that every chapter of the book would make a "vivid impression on the consciousness of the child" that would enable the child to form a meaning of "community and his relationship to it."[53] The book also accommodated the social sciences by including elements from political science, sociology, economics, and history.[54] While Dunn clearly stressed the development of the child's relationship to and participation in the local community, his book also treated the citizen's relationships with state and national levels of government.[55]

[49]For a comprehensive analysis of Snedden's contributions to educational thought generally and to the social efficiency movement specifically, see Walter H. Drost, *David Snedden and Education for Social Efficiency* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

[50]David Snedden, *Problems of Secondary Education* (Cambridge, MA: The Riverside Press, 1917), 207.

[51]Ibid., 214.

[52]Arthur William Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen* (Boston: D.C. Heath & Company, 1907).

[53]Ibid., iv.

[54]While substantive elements can be found throughout the book, Dunn also devotes entire chapters that more or less center on one of the social sciences. See, for example, Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen*, 34-42 (sociology); 109-227 (political science); 228-238 (economics); and, 1-6 (history).

[55]Dunn, *The Community and the Citizen*. The book clearly aims at illuminating "community problems." For example, Dunn includes chapters on the community's relationships and responsibilities to health, property, business, education, beauty, religion, and government. Dunn also includes chapters on the students' relationship to the state and national government.

In addition to social scientists and professional educators, citizens' groups joined the Progressive-era discourse on civic education. For example, Michael M. Davis, secretary of the People's Institute in New York, presented a paper at the National Municipal Leagues' annual conference in 1909 that attempted to bring together various conceptions of civic education popularized during the Progressive era.[56] Davis complained, as others had before him, that constructions of civic education were unnecessarily narrow, focusing on one of the social sciences as a vehicle to civic education.[57] For Davis, civic education included information drawn variously from different academic disciplines, such as history (to the extent that it illuminated current problems in government or society), sociology, and political science; an element that focused on values that "effects [sic] the pupil's will as well as intellect;" and, a practical element that stressed "activity or function" of government over structure.[58] The laboratory of the civic education program, for Davis, was the community in which the child lived and played.[59]

Momentum toward the interdisciplinary study of social problems as the way to educate for democratic citizenship peaked during the Progressive era with the recommendations of the NEA's Committee on the Social Studies. The 1916 Report of the NEA Committee on the Social Studies emphasized interdisciplinary and issue-centered education.[60] The Committee proposed two issue-centered courses for the school curriculum: (1) Community Civics, grades 7, 8, and 9 and (2) The Problems of Democracy, grade 12.

An early attempt to define "community civics" came from Thomas Jesse Jones, chairman of the committee.[61] Jones characterized community

[56] Michael M. Davis, "A Next Step Towards Better Civics Teaching," in *Proceedings of the Cincinnati Conference on Good City Government and of the Fifteenth Annual Meeting of the National Municipal League*, edited by Clinton Rogers Woodruff (Philadelphia: National Municipal League, 1909), 380-389.

[57] Ibid., 380.

[58] Ibid., 380-381.

[59] Ibid., 381.

[60] *Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association. The Social Studies in Secondary Education*, compiled by Arthur William Dunn, United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin no. 28 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1916). This committee was part of a more comprehensive study of the secondary curriculum undertaken by the National Education Association known as the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education.

[61] Thomas Jesse Jones, *Statement of Chairman of the Committee on the Social Studies*, Bulletin no. 41, U.S. Department of Education (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1913), 16-28.

civics as a program "intended to acquaint students with the civic conditions in their own community."[62] Jones stressed student involvement in the community and knowledge of the functions (as opposed to structure) of government closest to the student.

By 1915 a subcommittee of four members expanded on Jones's early efforts in a United States Department of Education pamphlet devoted entirely to community civics.[63] Like Dunn, the subcommittee recommended community civics for the elementary grades and its continuation through the first year of high school.[64] Students were to recognize the significance of community welfare, know the social agencies that help to secure community welfare, and recognize their present and future civic obligations.[65] Community civics stressed student participation in the affairs of the community.[66] A more encompassing conception of civic education was needed, according to the subcommittee, because narrower constructs fixed students' attention on the manipulation of social machinery without focusing on the social ends that the machinery was designed to produce.[67]

Because the Report of the NEA Committee on Social Studies, particularly its recommendation for a Community Civics course during grades 7, 8, and 9, is a prominent precursor of *Project Citizen*, its aims, procedures, and rationale must be examined. The Committee stressed that the aims of civic education were to help children know their community – that is, what the community does for citizens and what citizens have a right to expect from their community – and to cultivate in them the essential qualities and habits of good citizenship.[68] The aims were articulated as follows:

> To accomplish its part in training for citizenship, community civics should aim primarily to lead the pupil (1) to see the importance and significance of the elements of community welfare in their relations to himself and to the

[62] Ibid., 18.

[63] United States Department of Education, *The Teaching of Community Civics*, United States Department of Education, Bulletin no. 23 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1915). Committee members included J. Lynn Barnard, F.W. Carrier, Arthur William Dunn, and Clarence Kingsley.

[64] Ibid., 11. The whole committee eventually recommended a "Problems of American Democracy" course for the twelfth grade of secondary school that borrowed heavily from the community civics course during grade nine. See Committee on the Social Studies, 49-53.

[65] Ibid., 72.

[66] Ibid., 74-78.

[67] Ibid., 12. The committee appeared to be responding directly to the problem of "rampant individualism" at the core of the sociological arguments for a new conception of civic education.

[68] Committee on the Social Studies, 21-22.

communities of which he is a member; (2) to know the social agencies, governmental and voluntary, that exist to secure these elements of community welfare; (3) to recognize his civic obligations, present and future, and to respond to them by appropriate action.[69]

Emphasis on "elements of community welfare" was the lynchpin of the program. Students were to look at their own community and consider typical areas of social concern, including health, protection of life and property, recreation, education, civic beauty, wealth, communication, transportation, migration, charities, and correction. Three steps were recognized as important in teaching an element of community welfare:

(1) *Approach to the topic.* In beginning the study of an element of welfare the teacher should lead the pupils to realize its importance to themselves, their neighborhood, and to the community, and to see the dependence of the individual upon social agencies. Much depends upon the method of approach. The planning of an approach appropriate to a given topic and applicable to a given class calls for ingenuity and resourcefulness. In this bulletin approaches to various topics are suggested by way of illustration, but the teacher should try to find another approach whenever he thinks the one suggested is not the best one for the class.

(2) *Investigation of agencies.* The knowledge of the class should now be extended by a concrete and more or less detailed investigation of agencies such as those suggested in the bulletin. These investigations should consist of first-hand observation and study of local conditions. The agencies suggested under each topic are so many that no attempt should be made to have the class as a whole study them all intensively. Such an attempt would result in superficiality, kill interest, and defeat the purpose of the course. . . .

(3) *Recognition of responsibility.* A lesson in community civics is not complete unless it leaves the pupil with a sense of his personal responsibility and results in direct action. To attain these ends is perhaps the most difficult and delicate task of the teacher. It is discussed here as the third step in teaching an element of welfare; in practice, however, it is a process coincident with the first two steps and resulting from them. If the work suggested in the foregoing paragraphs on "Approach" and "Investigation of agencies" has been well done, the pupil's sense of responsibility, his desire to act, and his knowledge of how to act will thereby have been developed. Indeed, the extent to which they have been developed is in measure a test of the effectiveness of the approach and the study of agencies.[70]

Community civics called for students to assume a great deal of respon-

[69] Ibid., 22.
[70] Ibid., 23.

sibility for each of these steps.[71] The teacher's role was to guide the students through the process but not to interfere with students' initiative to address the issue before the group.

The NEA Report also identified several underlying assumptions of community civics and issue-based civic education that closely resemble those of *Project Citizen* (see Chapter One):

> (1) The pupil is a young citizen with real present interests at stake. . . . It is the first task of the teacher, therefore, not to create an interest for future use, but to demonstrate existing interests and present citizenship.
>
> (2) The pupil as a young citizen is a real factor in community affairs. . . . Therefore it is the task of the teacher to cultivate in the pupil a sense of his responsibility, present as well as future.
>
> (3) If a citizen has an interest in civic matters and a sense of his personal responsibility, he will want to act. Therefore the teacher must help the pupil to express his conviction in word and deed. He must be given an opportunity . . . to live his civics, both in the school and in the community outside.
>
> (4) Right action depends upon information, interest, and will, but also upon good judgment. Hence the young citizen must be trained to weigh facts and to judge relative values, both in regard to what constitutes the essential elements in a situation and in regard to the best means of meeting it.
>
> (5) Every citizen possesses a large amount of unorganized information regarding community affairs. It is, therefore, important to teach the pupils how to test and organize their knowledge.
>
> (6) People are . . . most ready to act upon those convictions that they have helped to form by their own mental processes and that are based upon experience and observation. Hence the teacher should . . . lead the class to contribute facts from their own experience; to contribute other facts gathered by themselves; to use their own reasoning powers in forming conclusions; and to submit these conclusions to criticism.
>
> (7) The class has the essential characteristics of the community. Therefore the method by which the class exercises are conducted is of the utmost importance in the cultivation of civic qualities and habits.[72]

The Community Civics course stressed early adolescence, a period of significant human growth and a critical period in developing the qualities of good citizenship. It emphasized the importance of studying issues closest to children, those in the community in which they live.[73]

[71] United States Department of Education, 14.
[72] Committee on the Social Studies, 22-23.
[73] United States Department of Education, 9-13.

The aims, procedures, and rationale of the Community Civics course are similar to those of *Project Citizen* (see Chapter One). The areas of social concern and the terminology have changed, but the commitment to transmitting the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship to adolescent students through the examination of specific local issues has continued from the era of Community Civics to *Project Citizen* of our times. Both the 1916 Community Civics course and *Project Citizen* aim to engage adolescents in the in-depth study of a community problem to cultivate the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship. Further, both share a similar approach to the study of community issues: (1) students systematically examine community issues and take some form of action to address them; (2) students gather, organize, and analyze information and make judgments about the worth of arguments on all sides of a given issue; (3) students independently address a community issue with their teacher in the role of facilitator or guide; and (4) students engage governmental and non-governmental organizations to address the issue under investigation.

In addition to sharing similar aims and processes, the creators of both Community Civics and *Project Citizen* provide similar rationales for the utility and significance of each instructional treatment. Both rationales (1) stress the importance of early adolescence as a significant period in civic development; (2) emphasize the young students as a civic resource with legitimate interests in the welfare of their own community; (3) advocate that students learn citizenship best when assuming the role of an active, informed, and responsible citizen; and (4) rest on the belief that study of community issues naturally yields many opportunities for students to develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship.

Since the 1916 NEA Report, some professional educators have consistently advocated the issue-centered or problem-based approach to social studies or civic education.[74] Moreover, advocates are now represented by

[74]John Dewey, "What is Social Study?" *Progressive Education* (May 1938): 367-369; Shirley H. Engle and Anna Ochoa, *Education for Democratic Citizenship: Decision Making in the Social Studies* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1988); Ronald W. Evans and David Warren Saxe, editors, *Handbook on Teaching Social Issues* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1996); Richard E. Gross and R.H. Muessig, editors, *The Problems Approach and the Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1960); Ernest Horn, *Methods of Instruction in the Social Studies* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937); Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalf, *Teaching High School Social Studies: Problems in Reflective Thinking and Social Understanding* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1966); Fred M. Newmann and Donald Oliver, *Clarifying Public Controversy: An Approach to Teaching Social Studies* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1970); Donald Oliver and James P. Shaver, *Teaching Public Issues in the High School* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966); Harold Rugg, "On Reconstructing the Social Studies," *Historical Outlook* (October 1921): 249-252; and William F. Russell, "The Citizenship Education Project," *Teachers College Record* 52 (November 1950): 77-89.

the Issue-Centered Education Special Interest Group of the National Council for the Social Studies. Despite the enduring efforts of its proponents, issue-centered civic education in practice since 1916 has largely been a history of non-implementation.[75] Occasionally during the twentieth century, however, issue-centered civic education gained enough momentum, if only rarely, to attract financial support and efforts at wide-scale implementation. Many civics and government teachers were directly or indirectly influenced, for example, by the Citizenship Education Project (CEP) at Columbia University or by several other national civic education programs operating during the 1950s.[76]

The main goal of the CEP was to "form the kind of citizen who can live properly in a free society, who can do his duty as a citizen, and who will improve and defend a government of, by, and for the people."[77] Toward this end, leaders of the CEP promoted "laboratory experience in democratic practices."[78] The practices and issues were organized under the categories of (1) law/government/politics; (2) social structure/economic forces; (3) communications/interpersonal relations; and (4) science/technology/agriculture.[79] According to leaders of the CEP, knowledge of

[75] Don Bragaw, "A Century of Secondary Social Studies: Looking Backward and Forward," in *Teaching Social Studies: Handbook of Trends, Issues, and Implications for the Future*, edited by Virginia S. Wilson, James A. Litle, and Gerald Lee Wilson (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1993), 45-64. Although the community civics course of the 1916 Report appears to have been mildly popular during the 1920's, this popularity appears to have faded by the 1930's. Hazel Whitman Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform: 1880-1980* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1981). The NEA's 12th grade Problems of Democracy (that goes by several names) continues to be the culminating course in civic education for a small percentage of school districts in the United States.

[76] Notable citizenship education programs, workshops, and studies of the 1950's include the Syracuse Citizenship Education Conference, the Civic Education Project (Cambridge, MA), the Detroit Citizenship Study, the Kansas Study of Education for Citizenship, and the Stanford Social Education Investigation. See Erling M. Hunt, "Recent Programs for Improving Citizenship Education," in *Education for Democratic Citizenship, The Twenty-Second Yearbook for the National Council for the Social Studies* (Baltimore, MD: Lord Baltimore Press, 1952), 110-123. Hazel Whitman Hertzberg described the Citizenship Education Project as "the most imaginative, and certainly the most ambitious attempt to translate citizenship education into citizenship action in the history of the social studies." See Hertzberg, 79.

[77] William R. Russell, "The Citizenship Education Project," *Teachers College Record* 52 (November, 1950): 77-89. After an initial grant of $50,000.00 in 1948, the Carnegie Corporation grant ballooned to $1,500,000.00 by 1950. By September of 1951 approximately 350 school systems were participating in the program and had direct contact with the Citizenship Education Project at Columbia University.

[78] Lewis Paul Todd, "The Citizenship Education Project," *Social Education* 17 (March, 1953): 99-100.

[79] Hertzberg, 79.

important democratic concepts and vicarious experience was not sufficient to development of a capable and competent democratic citizenry. Rather, students needed to participate in genuine democratic experiences to develop the "tools" or skills that enable one to perform the roles of citizens.

Leaders of the CEP intended to meet teachers and classrooms where they were. They did not call for creation of entirely new courses. Instead, teachers could use the "Laboratory Practice Descriptions" of CEP within the frameworks of existing courses.[80] The most important component of the program was to involve students directly in democracy through civic and political action in the public arena.

Helen Ross of Garfield High School in Terre Haute, Indiana was one of many teachers throughout the country who used the CEP to incorporate "laboratory experiences" into her classes.[81] Ross set out the conditions of a true laboratory experience:

> It must be real. It must have purpose. It must focus. It involves getting the information firsthand. It involves students taking action. It has democratic values.[82]

Ross's students selected a problem (smoking on buses) and attempted to clearly identify and define it, propose possible solutions, select a solution, and take some form of action to implement their solution. The only apparent difference between what social studies teachers referred to as "laboratory experiences" and an "issue-centered" curriculum appears to be that a requirement of the former is for students to take some form of action. Because of the laboratory experience, according to Ross, her students learned their importance as citizens in their community, how "the system" works, and how to influence others without being "smart alecks."[83] Her students were directly responsible for the creation of a new city ordinance banning smoking on buses.

Despite successful applications of the CEP by teachers like Helen Ross, the project ended in 1957. A primary reason for its demise was the end of Carnegie funding, which had totaled more than two million dollars from 1950-1957. The CEP was also beset with other serious problems, such as lack of institutional support for teachers and "sketchy evaluation procedures" for the laboratory practices, which program administrators failed to address.[84]

[80] Todd, 100.

[81] Helen Ross, "A Citizenship Education Project," *The Indiana Social Studies Quarterly* 7 (Spring/Summer 1953): 19-21.

[82] Ibid., 20.

[83] Ibid., 21.

[84] Hertzberg, 79.

The defunct CEP is a notable precursor of the currently used *Project Citizen*. The CEP's "civics laboratory" was similar in purposes and practices to the cognitive and participatory processes of *Project Citizen*. For example, both the CEP laboratory experience and *Project Citizen* motivated students to confront important public issues; both provided templates for the study of public issues; both assumed that students would learn most effectively about citizenship in a democracy by performing roles of the citizen; and both stressed development of skills and dispositions of democratic citizenship through persistent practice in various group-based activities.

Advocates of issue-centered education throughout the twentieth century have tended to favor a social studies curriculum that involves comprehensive or even exclusive student-directed inquiry about public issues or social problems. This issue-centered curricular model involves an interdisciplinary organization of content and a generalized model of reflective thinking or problem solving, which elevates process over content. According to the advocates of a comprehensive issue-centered curriculum, the main purpose of the school is not to teach a common core of knowledge but "to provide the means for the learner to develop the intellectual skills related to critical thinking and problem solving."[85] Others have stressed that knowledge is ephemeral and only cognitive and participatory processes are everlastingly valuable components of education for democratic citizenship. Thus, they have opposed the very idea of a core curriculum anchored in academic subjects that should be commonly and systematically learned by students.[86]

In the comprehensive issue-centered curricular model, processes and skills are the constant and pervasive elements of the curriculum. Content is to be organized flexibly and variously around current public issues or social problems of significance to the students' democratic society and government. These public issues or problems might vary among students in the same school and from one semester or year to the next. Thus, subject matter would vary according to student interests and the changing political and civic agenda. Cognitive and participatory processes, however, would be the common and integrative core of the curriculum.[87]

Comprehensive implementation of an issue-centered civic education requires radical reconstruction of the social studies curriculum. The com-

[85] John Jarolimek and C. D. Foster, *Teaching and Learning at the Middle School Level* (New York: Macmillan, 1993), 142.

[86] Ira Shor, *Empowering Education: Critical Teaching for Social Change* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992).

[87] Ibid., 55-84.

mon core curriculum, anchored in subjects such as history, geography, economics, and civics/government, would be scuttled in favor of an interdisciplinary and idiosyncratic application of content to particular and variable public issues or social problems.

Most school administrators and teachers, throughout the twentieth century, have rejected the comprehensive curricular change required by pervasive or exclusive use of the issue-centered method of civic education. They have tended to avoid this radical curricular model because of conceptual confusion about how to organize and execute it.[88] Research on the history of educational reform in the twentieth century indicates that the issue-centered curricular model, when carried out comprehensively in replacement of the academic subject-based curricular model, was likely to produce "a formless curriculum from which students learned little and bored them."[89] Further, recent research in cognitive science strongly suggests that a social studies or civics curriculum based primarily or exclusively on current public issues or problems, and which ignores systematic common learning of concepts anchored in "domains of knowledge" such as core school subjects, does not work.[90] By contrast, a concept-driven curriculum enables students systematically to acquire knowledge related to public issues or social problems, which is necessary to comprehension and resolution of them.[91]

Weaknesses of the issue-centered curricular model should not deter civic educators from inclusion of public issues or problems in the school curriculum. On the contrary, student inquiry about significant public issues of the past and present should be a prominent part of education for democratic citizenship within the conceptual frameworks of school subjects. Cognitive and participatory processes and skills should be used by students to examine significant public issues in the context of courses in civics/government, history, and economics. For example, *Project Citizen*, developed by the Center for Civic Education, can be incorporated readily into a solid, subject-based school curriculum. Given the reluctance of most civic educators to comprehensive and fundamental revision of the school curriculum, which the radical issue-centered model would require, it seems prudent to promote implementation of *Project Citizen* through its infusion into the commonly used subject-based curricular model. At

[88] Cremin, Lawrence A. *The Transformation of the School: Progressivism in American Education, 1876-1957* (New York: Random House, 1964), 348.

[89] Hertzberg, 80-81.

[90] John T. Breur, *Schools for Thought: A Science of Learning in the Classroom* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1993).

[91] Alan Cromer, *Connected Knowledge* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

present, this is the predominate way of including *Project Citizen* in the curriculum of schools in the United States and abroad.[92]

### *Project Citizen* in the Context of Democratic Political Theory

Whether organized as discipline-based, issue-centered, or some other form of curricular design, all civic education curricula in the United States and post-communist countries of central and eastern Europe, such as Latvia and Lithuania, include some conception of two related terms, democracy and citizenship. Often, however, the theory of democracy or democratic citizenship associated with these civic education curricula is not explicit. But if the overall goal of *Project Citizen* is to foster democratic citizenship through the civic development of students, then those who would evaluate its instructional effectiveness need to clarify the theory or theories of democratic citizenship the program is designed to support.

We begin with generally accepted minimal definitions of democracy and democratic citizenship. According to Samuel P. Huntington, a political system is democratic if "its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote."[93] This minimal definition of democracy implies that legitimate democratic regimes are based on popular sovereignty and majority rule through the people's elected representatives.[94] Further, this minimal definition of electoral democracy holds that to guard against tyranny of the majority, democratic governments must allow everyone, including those in the minority, to freely and fairly participate in political and civic life to influence their government and its public policy decisions. Free and fair participation also implies that all citizens have those political freedoms necessary for participation, such as the rights to free speech, press, and assembly, and, of course, the unfettered right to vote.

[92]Thomas S. Vontz and William A. Nixon, "Reconsidering Issue-Centered Civic Education Among Early Adolescents: *We the People . . . Project Citizen* in the United States and Abroad," in *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship: International Perspectives and Projects*, edited by Charles F. Bahmueller and John J. Patrick (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 141-161.

[93]Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 7.

[94]John J. Patrick, "Concepts at the Core of Education for Democratic Citizenship," in *Principles and Practices of Education for Democratic Citizenship*, edited by Charles F. Bahmueller and John J. Patrick (Bloomington, IN: ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, 1999), 5.

Membership in a community of citizens is a necessary precondition for the development of democracy.[95] A citizen is a person who belongs to a civic association which "may be denoted as a state, a nation, a people, a city or some combination of these."[96] In a democratic state, citizens are the legitimate source of all authority; there is government by consent of the governed or popular sovereignty. According to Bernard P. Dauenhauer, democratic citizenship is minimally composed of two parts.[97] The first part is the legal ascription of citizenship, the exercise of the legal rights and immunities of citizenship. A designation of citizen distinguishes people over and above their memberships in other groups (for example, ethnicity). The second part of citizenship, according to Dauenhauer, involves exercise of responsibilities or duties. While citizens in a democracy fully and equally enjoy certain rights, they also have the responsibility to secure their rights by respecting the rights of others, defending their rights and the rights of others, and exercising their rights. Rights mean very little in countries where citizens refuse to exercise them. Further, citizens owe certain duties to their government, such as abiding by laws enacted by their representatives and acting in support of the common good.[98]

Beyond the minimal and generally accepted definitions of citizenship and democracy, presented above, these two connected concepts have been developed differently within two broad categories of democratic political theory: (1) civic republicanism and (2) democratic liberalism. Both theories were interwoven components in the political thought of the American "founding fathers" during the later part of the eighteenth century.[99] And both theories of democracy and citizenship have continued to be blended more or less in American political thought and practice, from the founding era of the United States until the present.[100] Therefore, it is **not** surprising to find both civic republicanism and democratic liberalism combined in the underlying assumptions and overt characteristics of

[95] Alain Touraine, *What is Democracy?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 65.

[96] Douglas B. Klusmeyer, *Between Consent and Descent: Conceptions of Democratic Citizenship* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1996), 2.

[97] Bernard P. Dauenhauer, *Citizenship in a Fragile World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1996), 4-5.

[98] Patrick, 14-18.

[99] Paul A. Rahe, *Republics, Ancient and Modern: Classical Republicanism and the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1992). See also Richard C. Sinopoli, *The Foundations of American Citizenship: Liberalism, the Constitution, and Civic Virtue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[100] Richard Dagger, *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 2-23; 175-203.

*Project Citizen*, an instructional product designed primarily to promote democratic citizenship in the United States of America.

What are the defining characteristics of civic republicanism and democratic liberalism? How have aspects of these two alternative theories of citizenship in a democracy been combined in a popular instructional product, *Project Citizen*? Why is it significant for this study about the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* that civic republicanism and democratic liberalism are combined in the goals, methods, and content of this instructional product? The remainder of Chapter Two responds briefly to these three questions.

Civic republican theory, rooted in ancient Greece and Rome, holds that the interests of the community, the common good, outweigh the interests of the individual. For civic republicans, participation in political life on behalf of the common good is superior to the individual and private pursuits of family and profession, and freedom for the community outweighs individual rights to liberty.[101] Civic republicans do not rest their theory on the autonomous individual, but on the shared autonomy of the community.[102] Acting alone, individuals have little or no power to effectively address social problems pertaining to peace, economic prosperity, the quality of the natural environment, and so forth. Such problems require individuals acting together for the common good.[103]

Civic republicans also believe in the "intrinsic value of political participation for the participants themselves."[104] Engaging in deliberation and political participation not only betters the community, it also betters the individuals who participate on behalf of the community. Active participation in the public arena is the only means available for people to achieve the practical judgment necessary for effective democratic governance.[105]

According to the civic republican tradition, liberty depends upon sharing in self-government which requires a knowledge of public affairs and a sense of belonging to the community.[106] Citizen identities, in the civic

[101] Will Kymlicka and Wayne Norman, "Return of the Citizen: A Survey of Recent Work on Citizenship Theory," *Ethics* 104 (January 1994): 352-381.

[102] Sanford Lakeoff, *Democracy: History, Theory, Practice* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996), 37-98.

[103] Richard Norman, "Citizenship, Politics and Autonomy," in *Liberalism, Citizenship and Autonomy*, edited by David Milligan and William Watts Miller (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1992), 47-50.

[104] Kymlicks and Norman, 362.

[105] Klusmeyer, 4.

[106] Michael J. Sandel, *Democracy's Discontents: America in Search of a Public Philosophy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996), 5.

republican tradition, are "thick" and occupy a central place in one's life.[107] Citizens not only have the right to participate, they are expected to do so, for their own good and that of the community.

Aristotle, Niccolo Machievelli, and Jean Jacques Rousseau are three examples of many political theorists whose ideas emphasized civic republicanism. Aristotle, for example, believed that people were naturally social and political beings, and the best way to develop their capacities was through participation in governing small democratic communities, the *polis*. Aristotle posited a hierarchy of human association of which political associations were at the apex. Because all associations, such as individual, family, society, were dependent in some way on politics, they were subordinate to political associations.[108] According to Aristotle, a citizen was one who both rules and is ruled.[109] Participation was not a means of achieving a public good, it was a good in and of itself. For Aristotle, happiness was the overarching objective of human beings and could only be achieved through collective, political association.[110] Thus, citizenship was much more than a legal distinction among people, it was the highest form of human activity. It was only through active and responsible citizenship that people learned the civic virtues essential to the maintenance of a republican regime.[111]

Niccolo Machievelli, the most influential republican theorist of the Italian Renaissance, furthered and refined the participatory model of citizenship first introduced by the Greeks. Like Aristotle, Machievelli elevated citizenship above a legal status.[112] A republican government depended on the civic ethos of its citizenry. Because human beings were naturally greedy and overly concerned with material things, they needed to be civically directed and educated through military service, laws, and institutions designed to contain the worst of peoples' natural impulses and channel them toward preservation of their liberties and promotion of the commonwealth.[113]

To Machievelli, participation in public life was "virtuous" and pre-

[107]Pamela Johnston Conover, Ivor M. Crowe, and Donald D. Searing, "The Nature of Citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: Empirical Comments on Theoretical Themes," *Journal of Politics* 53 (August 1991): 802.

[108]Garrett Ward Sheldon, *The History of Political Theory: Ancient Greece to Modern America* (New York: Peter Lang Publishers, 1991), 25-28.

[109]J. G. A. Pocock, "The Ideal of Citizenship Since Classical Times," in *Theorizing Citizenship*, edited by Ronald Beiner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 30-31.

[110]Klusmeyer, 13.

[111]Ibid., 4.

[112]Ibid., 21.

[113]Sheldon, 69.

occupation with private concerns "corrupt."[114] A robust civic spirit – disciplined, patriotic, and respectful – was necessary for the maintenance of republican institutions and the common good.

> It is not the well-being of individuals that makes cities great, but the well-being of the community; and it is beyond question that it is only in republics that the common good is looked to properly in that all that promotes it is carried out; and, however much this or that private person may be the loser on this account, there are so many who benefit thereby that the common good can be realized in spite of those who suffer in consequence.[115]

Unlike Aristotle, Machievelli did not believe human beings shared the same vision of the "good life." Rather, conceptions of the good life varied and depended on the conditions and circumstances of people.[116] Thus, individuals will seek to use their civic freedom in different ways, which must be channeled or regulated by government and society if the republic would endure.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, an eighteeneth-century French philosopher, sought to revive the civic republicanism of the ancients, which subordinated individual interests to the common good.[117] Political and civic participation, he believed, could ameliorate the inherent corruption of society.[118] Although Rousseau believed human nature to consist of both self-interest and other-interest, social experiences exaggerated the former at the expense of the latter.[119] He claimed that people were born with "innocent virtue" and corrupted by society. A good life was only possible when citizens learned and practiced morality through participation in the community for the common good.

The perennial problems of political society (for example, how to retain individual freedom without sacrificing order and justice) were best addressed by citizens, according to Rousseau, through direct participation in the democratic community, which produced the General Will.[120] Social justice and the good life were achievable by citizens only through conformity to the General Will. When people leave a state of nature to receive greater protection for their rights, they transfer these rights "to the

[114] Klusmeyer, 21.

[115] Niccolo Machievelli, *The Discourses*, edited by Bernard Crick (New York: Penguin Books, 1983), 275 [originally published in 1522].

[116] Klusmeyer, 24-25.

[117] Ibid., 45.

[118] Sheldon, 110-111.

[119] Ibid., 106.

[120] Ibid., 111.

whole of the community." Rousseau asserted, "It is solely on the basis of this common interest that every society should be governed."[121]

By helping to produce the General Will through participation in society, citizens guarantee protection of their rights. Thus, according to Rousseau, citizens owe extensive service to the community, which through its government could demand much of the people for the common good.

Liberal political philosophers, in contrast to civic republicans like Rousseau, place the rights of the autonomous individual prior to the demands or needs of society. The main purpose of liberal government is security for personal liberty. According to Lance Banning, liberalism is "a label most would use for a political philosophy that regards man as possessed of inherent individual rights and the state as existing to protect these rights, deriving its authority from consent."[122]

Liberals claim that people are rational beings capable of using reason to overcome impediments in pursuit of their happiness. Thus, they make a social contract that creates civil society and government by consent of the governed to guarantee their rights. Participation in public life is not primarily for the common good, but for protection of personal liberty and pursuit of one's self-interest.[123] Therefore, liberals tend to emphasize the rights of citizenship against the power of government and society, which citizens create and maintain to serve them.[124] Individuals are free to choose, within reasonable limits that preclude interference with other people's rights, their own particular conception of the good life.[125] From a liberal perspective, a good society is one in which individuals are free to choose their own values and ends.

The obligations or responsibilities of citizenship of primary importance in the civic republican tradition are relegated to secondary status in the liberal tradition, which stresses individual autonomy and freedom. If individuals have the right to participate, they also enjoy the right, in a free society, not to participate. Citizen identities are "thin" because individuals may be occupied primarily by private interests and concerns.[126]

At the core of modern liberal conceptions of democracy and citizenship are the ideas of constitutionalism and rule of law to protect individual

[121] Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Social Contract* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1994), 55 [originally published in 1762].

[122] Lance Banning, "Jeffersonian Ideology Revisited: Liberal and Classical Ideas in the New American Republic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 43 (January 1986): 12.

[123] Conover, Crewe, and Searing, 802.

[124] Lakeoff, 99.

[125] Sandel, 4.

[126] Conover, Crewe, and Searing, 802.

rights. Of course, the existence of a constitution is a necessary but insufficient condition for constitutionalism. A country that practices constitutionalism legally limits the power of government to prevent it from arbitrarily and capriciously restricting or denying rights. It also legally and sufficiently empowers government to achieve the common good by maintaining public order and safety and thereby preventing predators from violating the rights of individuals.[127]

Rule of law, an essential element of constitutionalism, protects individuals from arbitrary and capricious violations of rights by the government or other persons. When the laws are equally applied and enforced, then all people are assured fair procedures in their interactions with government and one another. In particular, individuals accused of crimes are guaranteed due process of law.

An important precursor of modern liberal political theory was the seventeenth-century English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes. He believed that people are materialistic creatures in fierce competition with one another.[128] As individuals pursue their selfish interests in "a state of nature" conflicts are inevitable. The state of nature or absence of government is a jungle-like existence that yields a "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" life.[129] Thus, each person is set against every other person in a perpetual war of each one against every other one. In a state of nature where everyone is completely free, everyone's rights are completely at risk. Through the use of reason, however, people realize that it is better to surrender their absolute rights, which they would enjoy in a state of nature, to a government in return for personal security and the protection of their right to life.

For Hobbes, the greatest danger to individual rights was the absence of the state, not the state itself.[130] Unlike later liberal philosophers, however, Hobbes called for a state with great power to quell the natural impulses of human beings toward anarchy. In his theory of natural rights, each person equally possesses certain rights derived from natural law, and governments derive their authority from the consent of the governed. Hobbes argued that people should consent to exchange their natural right to liberty for a well-ordered society capable of protecting their most important natural right – the right to life.[131]

[127]Patrick, 7-11.

[128]Sheldon, 78-89.

[129]Thomas Hobbes, "Leviathan," in *Princeton Readings on Political Thought*, edited by Mitchell Cohen and Nicole Fermon (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 208.

[130]Sheldon, 85.

[131]Charles N. Quigley and Charles F. Bahmueller, editors, *CIVITAS: A Framework for Civic Education* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1991), 615.

A second famous English political theorist of the seventeenth century, John Locke, had the greatest single philosophical influence on liberal democracy in the modern world, especially in the United States of America. Like Hobbes, Locke believed that most people would realize that their natural rights to life, liberty, and property are perpetually at risk in a state of nature. Thus, it is reasonable for them to establish civil society and government to secure their natural rights against potential violators of them. Unlike Hobbes, however, Locke rejected excessive power in government. Rather, he believed that the government should have only enough power to adequately and equally protect each individual's natural rights to life, liberty, and property. And the government's power should be limited sufficiently to prevent it from becoming an abuser of rights. Civil society and government are instituted among people, then, for the purpose of establishing a constitution and laws by which the rights of each individual in society are secured and protected equally against predators from within or outside society.[132]

Locke's liberal political theory included elements of democracy. Political power, for example, is anchored in the people; and government is legitimate only if the people consent to it. Further, the political supremacy of the people should be expressed through popular election of representatives in a legislature, who enact laws by majority rule for the people. Locke wrote, "The Liberty of Man, in Society, is to be under no other Legislative Power, but that established by consent in the Commonwealth, nor under the Dominion of any Will, or Restraint of any Law, but what the Legislative shall enact, according to the Trust put in it."[133]

John Stuart Mill, a nineteenth-century English political philosopher, strongly connected liberalism to democracy. He was especially concerned, however, about the threat to individual liberty from tyranny by the democratic majority against unpopular individuals in the minority. Thus, Mill advocated constitutional limitations against democratic government or popular majorities to protect equally the rights of everyone in the society, especially those most disliked or even despised by the majority of citizens.[134]

Mill wrote that "the people may desire to oppress a part of their number; and precautions are as much needed against this as against any other abuse of power." He warned that "the tyranny of the majority is now

[132]Sheldon, 91-102.

[133]John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 283 [originally published in 1689].

[134]Sheldon, 133-142.

generally included among the evils against which society must be on its guard."[135]

Unlike Locke, Mill based his defense of individual liberty on a theory of social utility and thereby rejected natural rights theory. Mill contended that protection of the individual's freedom of thought and expression was a necessary condition of positive social change. Robust debate in the free market of ideas, he believed, corrects errors that otherwise impede social progress and the pursuit of human happiness.[136] Mill wrote:

> The only freedom which deserves the name is that of pursuing our own good in our own way, so long as we do not attempt to deprive others of theirs, or impede their efforts to obtain it. . . . Mankind are greater gainers by suffering each to live as seems good to themselves, than by compelling each to live as seems good to the rest.[137]

Both democratic liberalism and civic republicanism have been combined in the theory and practice of constitutional democracy in modern times. In the United States of America and post-communist countries like Latvia and Lithuania, education for citizenship in a democracy incorporates ideas compatible with both theories of popular government, democratic liberalism and civic republicanism. *Project Citizen*, for example, fits neatly into the context of prevailing political theory that conjoins democratic liberalism and civic republicanism as components of constitutional democracy.

Students involved with *Project Citizen* have the opportunity to vote on various items, such as selection of a topic or action plan, thereby experiencing a fundamental principle of democracy, majority rule. Students also learn that the majority rules legitimately only when its desires do not unduly or unjustly infringe on the individual rights of the minority. Further, the program aims to teach toleration and respect for the voices of those holding minority views to freely and fairly express their opinions, which is another minimal element of democracy.

*Project Citizen* also encourages students to develop and practice fundamental aspects of responsible citizenship in a democracy, such as an understanding of and commitment to both rights and responsibilities and to toleration of diversity in conjunction with support for the common good. The program prompts students to exercise political freedoms – rights to free speech, press, and assembly – necessary for democratic

[135] John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1947), 4 [originally published in 1859].

[136] Sheldon, 136-137.

[137] Mill, 12-13.

governance while also stressing the responsibilities of citizens to participate in civic life for the common good and respect the rights of others to exercise their own rights.

*Project Citizen* strongly stresses key aspects of civic republicanism. For example, persistent participation in civic life to address community problems is an aim of the program and a vehicle to develop the knowledge, skills, and dispositions of democratic citizenship. The program assumes that through the study of a community issue, students will develop civic knowledge, practice intellectual and participatory skills, and acquire civic dispositions essential for responsible and informed citizenship. Equipping the student for citizen engagement to improve the community is one of the central aims of the program, as it is in civic republican theory.

Implicit in *Project Citizen* is the civic republican ideal of civic virtue by which citizens willingly give their time, talent, and expertise to address community problems for the common good. Students are not asked to study personal, family, or even national or international problems. Rather, they are asked to select important and relevant community or school issues in which they can become involved directly and efficaciously. By addressing these types of issues, students are individually, collectively, and directly participating on behalf of the common good. The instructional steps ensure that students pursue these ends by participating with one another as well as with the governmental and civil society organizations best equipped to address the problem. The creators of the program assume, in line with civic republicanism, that participation in political and civic life is not only good for the individual students but also for the community as a whole.

*Project Citizen*, however, is not exclusively in the civic republican tradition. Through their participation in the program, students are required to blend civic republican ideals with key ideas in the theory of democratic liberalism, such as limited government, constitutionalism, rule of law, political tolerance, and guarantees of personal or private rights.

A key component of the program is the "constitutional check" required of all students before final adoption of the selected class policy. The program requires that students reject those policies that infringe upon the political or personal rights of individuals guaranteed by the Constitution. *Project Citizen*, then, requires that students respect the rule of law, especially constitutional law, to protect individuals and their natural rights guaranteed by the Constitution. Students learn that the power of democratic governments to make rules and pass laws is limited by the higher law of the Constitution to equally protect the political and personal rights of everyone, which is the ultimate ideal in the political philosophy of democratic liberalism.

In its emphasis on voluntary and free group-based political and civic activity for the common good, *Project Citizen* supports civil society, a space between private life and the government that seamlessly brings together aspects of civic republicanism and liberalism. According to sociologist Adam Seligman, civil society has a harmonizing effect on the often conflicting ideas of individual interest (liberalism) and the common good (republicanism):

> [W]hat nevertheless makes the idea of civil society so attractive is its assumed synthesis of the private and public "good" and of individual and social desiderata. The idea of civil society thus embodies for many an ethical idea of social order, one that, if not overcomes, at least harmonizes the conflicting demands of individual interest and social good.[138]

Civil society, freely created by private persons acting in the public sphere, is comprised of voluntary organizations, non-governmental organizations, that although independent of the state may act freely in harmony with it for the common good. Thus, in their concern for the commonwealth, civil society organizations and their members exemplify civic republicanism. They also exemplify democratic liberalism in their freedom of expression and capacity to check encroachments of the state against the private rights of individuals. Ernest Gellner, for example, has defined civil society as, "that set of diverse non-governmental institutions, which is strong enough to counterbalance the state, and, whilst not preventing the state from fulfilling its role of keeper of the peace and arbitrator between major interests, can nevertheless prevent the state from dominating and atomizing the rest of society."[139]

The vitality of civil society is an indicator of a healthy blend of civic republicanism and liberalism in a democracy. If civil society is robust, then citizens are assuming their responsibilities to act for the good of the community; they are exercising their commitments to the rights of citizenship and constitutionalism, the rule of law that regulates tensions between the state and civil society and enables both to protect liberty and promote the common good.[140]

The combination of civic republicanism and democratic liberalism in *Project Citizen* has implications for an inquiry about the worth of this instructional product. This investigation, if it would be true to the underlying assumptions and overt characteristics of *Project Citizen*, must meas-

[138] Adam Seligman, *The Idea of Civil Society* (New York: The Free Press, 1992), x.

[139] Ernest Gellner, "The Importance of Being Modular," in *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*, edited by John A. Hall (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1995), 32.

[140] Patrick, 19-21.

ure the extent to which this instructional product affects students' civic republican capacities for effective and responsible participation. It must also measure the impact of *Project Citizen* on students' liberal orientations and commitments about constitutionalism, individual rights, and political toleration.

The preponderate presence of civic republicanism in *Project Citizen* necessitates a greater emphasis on this political theory in an inquiry to evaluate the instructional effectiveness of this product. But the intersection of liberalism and republicanism, which distinguishes *Project Citizen*, must also characterize an evaluation of this instructional product's impact on students.

The seamless mixture of civic republicanism and democratic liberalism in *Project Citizen* reflects a hybrid political theory that scholars claim to have been prominent throughout United States history. Dagger calls it "republican liberalism"[141] and Spragens uses the term "civic liberalism."[142] Other political philosophers in the United States and abroad use other labels to describe this widely recognized hybrid political theory that combines two main streams of democratic thought in Western civilization, civic republicanism and democratic liberalism. Regardless of the label, this hybrid theory stresses both individual rights and the common good. It points to responsibilities of citizenship on behalf of both private and public interests. It is the political theory that sets the context for teaching and learning democratic citizenship through *Project Citizen*.

Throughout the twentieth century, civic educators in the United States of America have tended to believe that both the republican and liberal dimensions of democratic citizenship can and should be taught effectively in their country's schools. They have tended to argue, however, about the viability of education for democratic citizenship in countries with little or no experience in democracy.[143] Further, some prominent educators in the United States and elsewhere have been skeptical that programs from established democracies like the United States can be exported to nurture the establishment of democracies abroad.[144]

[141] Richard Dagger, 11-25; 175-195.

[142] Thomas A. Spragens, Jr., *Civic Liberalism: Reflections on Our Democratic Ideals* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1999).

[143] Josua Muravchik, *Exporting Democracy: Fulfilling America's Destiny* (Washington, DC: The AEI Press, 1992); Edward G. McGrath, editor, *Is Democracy Exportable?* (Beverly Hills, CA: The Glencoe Press, 1968).

[144] Larry Diamond, "Promoting Democracy in the 1990s: Actors, Instruments, and Issues," in *Democracy's Victory and Crisis*, edited by Axel Hadenius (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 311-370.

Scholarly investigations of democracy assistance programs during the 1990's have yielded mixed evidence about the potential effectiveness of transplanted programs of education for democratic citizenship. It appears that "short-term formal instruction on democracy that presents the subject as general principles and processes generally has little effect on participants."[145] By contrast, however, long-term implementation of programs that "stress the practical application of civic values and knowledge" and involve active teaching and learning methods may be effective, especially if they are "tailored to the realities of the societies where they are being used."[146]

*Project Citizen*, developed in the United States for American students and exported to students in countries with democratic aspirations, exemplifies such characteristics as active student learning and practical applications of content about principles and practices of democracy, which have been found effective among various groups of students in different parts of the world. Can *Project Citizen* be used effectively to enhance the civic development of students in a long-established democracy like the United States of America and students in countries like Latvia and Lithuania, where democracy is rather new? The research literature reviewed in Chapter Three provides a context for discussion of findings reported in Chapters Six, which respond directly to the key questions about the relative effectiveness of an American civics program in the United States and fledgling democracies in post-communist countries.

[145] Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution Press, 1999), 232.

[146] Ibid., 233.

# 3

# Research on the Civic Development of Adolescents: Relationships to an Evaluation of *Project Citizen*

*Thomas S. Vontz and John J. Patrick*

Civic development is a key concept in research about the effects of civic education on adolescents.[1] It refers to the individual's growth in civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions, which indicates one's capacity to be an effective and responsible citizen of a democracy.[2] It is the intended outcome of civic education in a democracy. Thus, instructional materials for civic education in schools, such as *Project Citizen*, are designed to promote and direct the civic development of students.[3]

Research has been conducted during the past forty years to portray the civic development of adolescents in the United States and to reveal its relationships to various factors within and outside of schools. In addition, research on civic education in schools has been carried out to show the impact of particular instructional treatments on the civic development of students.

The relationships of research on civic development to the instructional objectives, substance, and methods of *Project Citizen* are discussed in this chapter. The purpose is to place this investigation of the instructional effects of *Project Citizen* within the context of prior research on civic devel-

[1] Richard G. Niemi and Chris Chapman, *The Civic Development of 9th- Through 12th-Grade Students in the United States* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1999).

[2] In Chapter One, there is a discussion of civic development and its three components: civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions.

[3] In Chapter Four, there is an operational definition, for purposes of an inquiry on *Project Citizen*, of civic development.

opment. This review of research, therefore, treats four topics: (1) the status of adolescent civic development, (2) the relationship of personal and social factors to adolescent civic development, (3) the relationship of school-based factors to adolescent civic development, and (4) this evaluation of *Project Citizen* in the context of prior research.

### The Status of Adolescent Civic Development

Survey research on the civic development of adolescents in the United States has portrayed the extent to which they have or have not achieved civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. This research is related directly to the instructional purpose of *Project Citizen* – to enhance the civic development of adolescent students.

The findings of survey research presented here express long-standing and broadly accepted generalizations about the civic development of American youth, ages 10-18. Thus, civic educators are informed about patterns of civic development that may be improved through implementation in schools of *Project Citizen*.

Theories of democracy, whether tilted toward civic republicanism or democratic liberalism, assume that citizens possess knowledge needed for the maintenance and improvement of their polity. A government of, by, and for the people depends upon widespread comprehension of the principles, practices, and institutions of democracy. Further, citizens presumably need to know information about key current events, laws, and political leaders if they would act responsibly and effectively to protect their individual rights and promote the common good of their community. Most political scientists agree that "democracy functions best when its citizens are politically informed."[4]

Given the significance of civic knowledge among citizens in theories of democracy, it is disappointing, even threatening, for civic educators to acknowledge the low levels of it possessed by citizens in the United States and elsewhere. Many surveys of the civic knowledge of American youth and adults during the past half-century reveal gross ignorance of principles and practices of democracy and information about political institutions, leaders, and events.[5] It seems that a minority of citizens possess the

[4]Michael X. Delli Carpini and Scott Keeter, *What Americans Know about Politics and Why It Matters* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996), 1.

[5]Richard G. Niemi and Jane Junn, *Civic Education: What Makes Students Learn* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 24-51. Niemi and Junn have reviewed comprehensively the survey research on the civic development of youth during the past fifty years.

civic knowledge needed for responsible and effective citizenship in a democracy. According to Niemi and Junn, "The lack of knowledge among American citizens is striking to those of us who deal with political life daily. What is most significant, however, is not so much the inability to recall isolated facts and figures but the breadth and depth of the ignorance."[6]

The dismal conclusion of Niemi and Junn about the low level of achievement of civic knowledge by American adolescents was based on survey research conducted before the most recent and comprehensive survey of adolescent civic knowledge and related intellectual skills – the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics.[7] All facets of this national assessment, from construction of test items to interpretation of results, were guided by a "Civics Framework"[8] based on the *National Standards for Civics and Government*.[9]

The civic knowledge component of the framework consists of five fundamental questions that denote ideas and information essential to the citizen's comprehension of democracy in the United States:

- What are civic life, politics, and government?
- What are the foundations of the American political system?
- How does the government established by the Constitution embody the purposes, values, and principles of American democracy?
- What is the relationship of the United States to other nations and to world affairs?
- What are the roles of citizens in American democracy?[10]

Each item of the 1998 NAEP in civics pertains to the category of knowledge represented by one of the five fundamental questions. Further, each item was constructed to measure simultaneously achievement of knowl-

[6]Ibid., 5. See also the review of research in John J. Patrick and John D. Hoge, "Teaching Government, Civics, and Law," in *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning*, edited by James P. Shaver (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1991), 427-436.

[7]The National Assessment of Education Progress (NAEP), an ongoing congressionally mandated project, collects and reports data on the educational achievement of American students in core subjects of the school curriculum. The first NAEP in citizenship was conducted in 1969 Other NAEPs involving citizenship and social studies were carried out in 1971, 1975, and 1981. In 1988, there was a NAEP in civics and government.

[8]NAEP Civics Consensus Project, *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1996).

[9]Center for Civic Education, *National Standards for Civics and Government* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1994).

[10]NAEP Civics Consensus Project, 18.

edge and related intellectual skills. The skills, however, are not measured separately and are subsumed in the average scale scores, which are broadly intended to measure "civic competence" or civic development.[11]

The NAEP classifies average scale scores into three achievement levels: *basic, proficient, and advanced*:

> The *basic* level denotes partial mastery of the knowledge and skills that are fundamental for proficient work at a given grade. The *proficient* level represents solid academic performance. Students reaching this level demonstrate competency over challenging subject matter. The *advanced* level signifies superior performance at a given grade.[12]

Respondents in the 1998 NAEP in civics were identified through selection of nationally representative samples of students in public and private schools at grades four, eight, and twelve. The assessed sample sizes at each grade level were 5,948 in grade four, 8,212 in grade eight, and 7,763 in grade twelve. Students were asked to respond to civics assessment items and questionnaires about personal characteristics and experiences presumably related to achievement in civics. Teachers of the student respondents were asked to complete questionnaires about curricular content and classroom practices.[13]

The 1998 NAEP in civics reinforced past findings of survey research about the rather low level of civic knowledge exhibited by American students. For example, the *basic* level of achievement was attained by 46% of students in grade four, 48% in grade eight, and 39% in grade twelve. The *proficient* level was reached by 21% of students in grade four, 21% in grade eight, and 22% in grade twelve. The *advanced* level was achieved by 2% of students in grade four, 2% in grade eight, and 4% in grade twelve. Another way to look at the overall findings is to note that 31% of the fourth-grade students were **below** the *basic* level of achievement and 69% were **above** it; in grade eight, 29% were **below** the *basic* level and 71% were **above** it; and in grade twelve, 35% were **below** the *basic* level and 65% were **above** it. Less than 25% of the students scored at or above the *proficient* level at each grade (21% in grade four, 21% in grade eight, 22% in grade twelve).[14] These results generally are consistent with previous administrations of the NAEP in civics.[15]

[11] Anthony Lutkus et al., *NAEP 1998 Civics Report Card for the Nation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1999), 3.

[12] Ibid., 11, 20-21.

[13] Ibid., 6, 8-9.

[14] Ibid., 22-23.

[15] Niemi and Junn, 26-51; Lee Anderson et al., *The Civics Report Card* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1990).

A recent survey of a nationally representative sample of ninth- and twelfth-grade students reinforces the findings of NAEP about low levels of civic knowledge among American adolescents. The researchers found that fewer than 35% of students responded correctly to relatively easy political knowledge questions (e.g., What job or office is held by Al Gore?; Whose responsibility is it to declare laws unconstitutional?).[16]

The widespread deficiencies in civic knowledge of American students tend to be matched by inadequacies in civic skills. The authors of the *Civics Framework for the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress* defined the most important intellectual skills in civics as (1) identifying and describing; (2) explaining and analyzing; and (3) evaluating, taking, and defending a position. They defined the most important participatory skills as (1) interacting with others; (2) monitoring politics and government; and (3) influencing the processes of governance in the political community.[17] Together these skills allow citizens to use their knowledge to "think and act effectively and in a reasoned manner in response to the challenges of civic life in a constitutional democracy."[18]

Because of limited resources and the high costs, few inquiries directly investigate the intellectual or participatory skills of adolescents. Instead, researchers often opt to measure the confidence students report in performing various tasks related to democratic citizenship that would demonstrate some civic skill. To tap a participatory skill, for example, researchers might ask how confident students were that they could work with others to solve a common problem. The researchers assume that the more confident students are in performance of some task, the more likely they are to possess the intellectual or participatory skill(s) associated with the task.

Niemi and Chapman found that the vast majority of students in grades 9 to 12 were confident they could write a letter to a government office (93.4%) or make a statement at a public meeting (82.4%).[19] However, the Niemi and Junn analysis of eight items on the 1988 NAEP civics assessment, which required students to make inferences from texts, tables, or charts, was not as positive. Their analysis revealed that 29% of students in grade twelve were unable to correctly respond to a set of relatively "easy questions."[20]

There may be a connection between low levels of civic knowledge

[16] Niemi and Chapman, 15.
[17] NAEP Civics Consensus Project, 18, 24-28.
[18] Ibid., 18.
[19] Niemi and Chapman, 18.
[20] Niemi and Junn, 40-43.

among adolescents and corresponding deficiencies in their civics-related intellectual skills. For example, if students cannot recognize and comprehend their rights in the United States Constitution, then they are unlikely to be able to think analytically or critically about public issues associated with these rights. Lack of knowledge about how to participate in civic and political life may also partially explain low levels of participation and limited development of participatory skills among a majority of adolescents and adults.[21]

Perhaps the most important component of civic development for an inquiry about *Project Citizen* is civic dispositions, which are intertwined with the knowledge and skills of democratic citizenship. Certain civic dispositions, the traits of public and private character of democratic citizens, loom large in the instructional objectives and procedures of *Project Citizen*. This review of research, therefore, focuses on particular civic dispositions that are linked directly to the aims of *Project Citizen* and are included in the conceptual model of this inquiry.[22]

**Sense of political efficacy** is one civic disposition that pertains to *Project Citizen*. For a democratic society to maintain itself and thrive, there must be the feeling among many citizens that the government is responsive to the people and that their participation in civic and political life matters. Citizens who feel far removed from their government and powerless to effect meaningful change are not likely to be supportive of their government or participate in civic life. Researchers refer to this important disposition as a **sense of political efficacy** and have distinguished between internal and external political efficacy. Internal efficacy is measured by the degree to which people feel they can personally understand the processes of government and influence political decision making; external efficacy is measured by the degree to which people feel the government is responsive to the citizenry.

Measuring the external efficacy of a sample of students in five countries (for example, England, Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, and the United States) during 1986, 1993, and 1994, Hahn found that students from the United States and Denmark reported the highest levels of polit-

[21] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 35; Patrick and Hoge, 432; John J. Patrick, "Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools," in *Handbook of Political Socialization: Theory and Research*, edited by Stanley Allen Renshon (New York: The Free press, 1977), 196-201.

[22] Chapters One and Four of this monograph include discussions of civic dispositions that pertain to this evaluation of *Project Citizen:* political interest, sense of political efficacy, political tolerance, propensity to participate, commitment to exercising the rights of citizenship, commitment to exercising the responsibilities of citizenship, and commitment to constitutionalism.

ical efficacy.[23] Compared with the other countries, significant percentages of the American students sampled felt as though citizens can influence the democratic decision-making process:

- 74% "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that "citizens can influence decisions made by the government by signing petitions or joining a demonstration;"
- 47% "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that "my family does have a say about what the government does;"
- approximately 63% "agreed" or "strongly agreed" that "when we become adults we will have much say about how the government runs things."[24]

Hahn's qualitative findings from the United States suggest that students support their generally efficacious feelings with specific examples of "citizen action influencing public policy."[25]

**Political tolerance**, or the degree to which people support and respect the rights of those with whom they strongly disagree, is another important civic disposition that pertains to *Project Citizen*. A free society depends on a politically tolerant citizenry. A citizenry generally committed to political tolerance is less likely to violate, and also more likely to support, the individual and natural rights of those in the minority. To measure political tolerance, researchers normally ask respondents whether or not they would allow the ideas of controversial or unpopular groups (for example, the Ku Klux Klan, atheists, or communists) to be expressed freely.

There is a paucity of wide-scale recent research measuring the political tolerance of adolescents. Two items from the 1996 National Household Education Survey attempted to measure this disposition for students in grades 9 through 12. Based on a national sample of 4,212 students, Niemi and Chapman report 88.3% of American high school students believed that "people should be allowed to speak against religion." However, only 56.9% believed that "controversial books should be kept in a library."[26]

Survey research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s suggested tendencies among American adolescents to be supportive or tolerant in the

[23]Carole L. Hahn, *Becoming Political: Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1998), 36.

[24]Ibid., 37-41. This percentage is based on an average of the mean scores from samples taken in 1986 and 1994. The Niemi and Chapman (1999) analysis of data taken from 1996 National Household Education Survey generally reinforces the findings of Hahn. See Niemi and Chapman, 19.

[25]Hahn, 47.

[26]Niemi and Chapman, 20.

abstract about the rights of unpopular minority groups or dissident individuals. However, they tended to express intolerance about the exercise of rights in particular instances by these same minorities or individuals.[27]

**Political interest**, the degree to which one monitors and attends to politics and government, is related to the civic and political participation that *Project Citizen* aims to promote. Researchers measure political interest by asking people the degree to which they would enjoy or be interested in various future political activities (for example, discussion of politics or participation in a political campaign). Further, they might ask respondents if they have participated in certain activities, such as watch the news or talk with parents about politics, which exemplify political interest.

Hahn's comparative study of adolescent political attitudes found that students in the United States and Denmark had the highest average political interest scores among the respondents of five nations.[28] One item Hahn used to measure political interest, "I think I would enjoy being involved in making [political] decisions that affect my school or community," is of fundamental importance in *Project Citizen*. On this item, more students from the United States (24%) "disagreed" or "strongly disagreed" than students from any other country.[29] In her interviews with students, one student commented on participating in a simulated government activity (similar to *Project Citizen's* culminating activity): "It was so interesting and you were involved and you got to participate and actually do it, like you were involved and I think that was good."[30] Niemi and Chapman found that 71% of surveyed students said that they watch or listen to the news at least once a week while 40% reported "hardly ever" reading the news.[31]

**Propensity to participate**, the tendency to participate in political and civic life in the future, is a central aim of *Project Citizen* and an important civic disposition. Researchers measure this variable by asking respondents the degree to which they are likely to participate in a variety of political and civic activities.

Data from Hahn's survey suggest that Danish students were the most inclined to future political participation followed by students from the United States.[32] Seventy-five percent of the American sample indicated

[27] Patrick, "Political Socialization and Political Education in Schools," 201-202; Patrick and Hoge, "Teaching Government, Civics, and Law," 432.

[28] Hahn, 57. The data from the survey administered in 1986 showed that German and Danish students had the highest average scores for political interest.

[29] Ibid., 61.

[30] Ibid., 73.

[31] Niemi and Chapman, 17.

[32] Hahn, 73.

that they were "very likely" to vote in national elections and 66% said they were "very likely" to vote in local elections.[33] Hahn's survey also found that 79% of students in the United States responded "not very likely" or "definitely not" when asked how likely they were to run for political office.[34]

Three other civic dispositions that are associated with this inquiry on *Project Citizen* – **commitment to exercising the rights of citizenship**, **commitment to exercising the responsibilities of citizenship**, and **commitment to constitutionalism** – were conceptualized and constructed specifically for this inquiry. Therefore, no prior data exists to generally describe adolescent civic development across these variables. However, each of these dispositions is related to the aims of *Project Citizen* and important to maintaining a vibrant and healthy democracy. A government that blends liberal and republican principles must be supported by a citizenry committed to exercising the rights of citizenship, the responsibilities of citizenship, and constitutionalism. If a broad commitment to exercising the rights or responsibilities of citizenship does not exist among the citizens of a democratic government, both the rights of the individual and the common good are at risk. Likewise, individual rights and the common good are at risk if citizens are not committed to constitutionalism and the rule of law. Support for these fundamental principles of liberal democracy protect the people from the arbitrary and capricious use of governmental power and empower the government to promote the common good.

The capacity to acquire and maintain civic dispositions depends upon knowledge of them. Citizens are more likely to have and express a sense of political efficacy, for example, if they know what this civic disposition is and its importance in a democracy. This presumed relationship of knowledge to civic dispositions is analogous to the linkage of knowledge to civic skills; it underscores the interactions of all three components of civic development: knowledge, skills, and dispositions. Deficiencies in civic knowledge are likely to be tied to deficiencies in civic skills and civic dispositions. Therefore, an instructional treatment like *Project Citizen*, which purports to enhance the civic development of students, should attend to all three components of it and to their interconnections in political and civic life.

[33] Ibid., 75.

[34] Ibid., 76. This high percentage was roughly equivalent to the other nations participating in the study. Only 3% of American students indicated that they were "very likely" to run for political office, which was also similar to the samples in other countries.

**Personal and Social Factors Related to Adolescent Civic Development**

Variations in civic development are related to particular personal and social factors within and outside of school. Important personal and social factors include one's level of cognitive development and educational attainment, racial and ethnic identity, gender identity, family-related experiences, and community-related experiences. In their investigations of relationships between an instructional treatment like *Project Citizen* and the civic development of students, researchers usually take account of these personal and social factors.

Research on cognitive development reveals variations by age level in the capacities of students fully to attain civic development – the overarching instructional goal of *Project Citizen* and other programs in education for democratic citizenship. For example, early adolescence (roughly 10- to 15-year-olds) is a period of significant physical, emotional, and intellectual change. During this period, most children begin the capacity for more advanced thinking associated with *Project Citizen* and civic development. Developmental psychologists have long maintained that the gradual shift from "concrete operations" to "formal operations" occurs sometime during early adolescence, when the child moves from thinking that is concrete, tied to the present, and egocentric to thinking that is capable of reflection, abstraction, and projection of long-range social consequences. As children progress through adolescence, they employ the higher levels of thinking associated with the formal operations stage with increasing frequency.[35]

Studying a sample of 120 adolescents at grade 5 (average age, 10.9), grade 7 (12.6), grade 9 (14.7), and grade 12 (17.7), Adelson and O'Neil found a "marked shift in the cognitive basis of political discourse" between the 11- and 13-year-olds. Typical 11-year-olds in the sample were frequently unable to demonstrate the capacity for formal operations (for example, reasoning from premises, employing the hypothetic-deductive mode of analysis, and envisioning long-range social consequences) whereas typical 13-year-olds had achieved these capacities some of the time, yet they were unable to consistently employ them.[36] The older the adolescent, the more refined and frequent the use of advanced thinking required of more advanced civic development.

Gallatin's replication of the Adelson and O'Neil work echoed their

[35] Joseph Adelson and Robert P. O'Neil, "Growth of Political Ideas in Adolescence: The Sense of Community," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 4 (1966): 295-306.

[36] Ibid., 305.

findings.[37] Gallatin found that older adolescents were increasingly more likely to link and apply democratic principles to specific situations, possess an expanded social reality, prefer democracy to other forms of government, and appreciate the complex interplay of individual rights and the common good.[38]

A growing number of learning theorists, however, reject rigid developmental theories across levels of cognitive capacity. They propose that constructivist learning theory is a better lens through which to study adolescent civic development.[39] Constructivist theory rejects the notion that individuals of the same age are likely to occupy a single, well-defined stage across levels of cognitive development. By contrast, constructivist theory focuses on the individual's construction of knowledge by actively relating new information to previously established cognitive structures or schemata. According to constructivist principles, individuals interpret and reconstruct messages they receive from the various sources of civic development, such as the family, community, and school. They think variously based upon their previous schema and the social context in which the message is conveyed. Depending on the prior schema and the social context, individuals may accept, reject, or misunderstand the political message offered by a given agent.[40]

Regardless of the underlying learning theory, age seems to be a salient factor in determining how and how much *Project Citizen* is likely to affect the civic development of adolescents. It can be assumed that older adolescents are more likely to frequently apply advanced cognition associated with formal operations and to have experienced more situations relevant to political learning that enable them to possess more advanced schema. Irrespective of the reasons why, older adolescents are likely to begin the instructional treatment of *Project Citizen* at a developmental advantage relative to younger adolescents.

The majority of *Project Citizen* students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania are 13 to 14 years old and in grades 8 or 9. Students in this study, however, range in age from 10 to 18 years and from grades 5 to 12. The learning theories discussed above may contribute to one's analysis of data in relationship to the age of students.

[37] Judith E. Gallatin, *Democracy's Children: The Development of Political Thinking in Adolescents* (Ann Arbor, MI: Quod Publishing, 1985).

[38] Ibid., 68-72; 121-125.

[39] Judith Torney-Purta, "Psychological Theory as a Basis for Political Socialization Research: Individuals' Construction of Knowledge," *Perspectives on Political Science* 24 (Winter 1995): 23-33.

[40] Ibid., 23.

Another personal factor related to civic development is educational attainment or amount of education.[41] Niemi and Chapman, for example, found that students in grades 11 and 12 outperformed those in grades 9 and 10 on all measures of civic development except for external efficacy and watching or listening to the news.[42] Students in higher grades possessed more political knowledge, had more confidence in their understanding of politics and their ability to speak at a meeting, were more likely to read the news at least once a week, and were more likely to tolerate speech against religion and controversial books in the library than students in lower grades.[43]

Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry, using data obtained from the 1990 Citizen Participation Study, found that amount of education was significantly related to all seven characteristics of civic development that they studied – knowledge of principles of democracy, knowledge of political leaders, knowledge of current political facts, political attentiveness, participation in difficult political activities, voting, and tolerance.[44] Niemi and Junn, using data from the 1988 NAEP civics assessment for students at grade 12, claim that the amount of one's formal education "is the strongest, most consistent correlate (and is widely considered the central causal determinant) of political knowledge."[45] Studying civic culture in Europe and America, Rice and Feldman found strong relationships between education and eight measures of civic attitudes.[46] Achievement levels of students, indicating success in school, have also been positively related to characteristics of civic development such as political knowledge, political trust, and participation in community activities.[47]

One's confidence in attending a four-year institution after high school has also been used as a general measure of individual achievement and ability level.[48] This item helps researchers begin to distinguish between a student's natural abilities and the effects of the school curriculum. Niemi

[41] Although grade level and achievement level are factors that are related to school, they are factors that vary with regard to individuals, not schools. Thus, they are categorized as "personal factors" and not school-based factors.

[42] Niemi and Chapman, 23.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Norman H. Nie, Jane Junn, and Kenneth Stehlik-Barry, *Education for Democratic Citizenship in America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1996), 31.

[45] Niemi and Junn, 13.

[46] Tom W. Rice and Jan L. Feldman, "Civic Culture and Democracy from Europe to America," *Journal of Politics* 59 (November 1997): 1143-1172.

[47] Niemi and Chapman, 3; Niemi and Junn, 140-142.

[48] Niemi and Junn, 58-59.

and Junn, for example, found that the more confident students were that they would be attending a four-year college or university after high school, the more likely they were to have higher average political knowledge scores relative to those students who were less confident.[49]

The Niemi and Junn secondary analyses also demonstrated a positive relationship between the degree to which students report liking civics or American government and political knowledge. Students indicating that civics or American government was their favorite subject possessed more political knowledge than those students favoring other subjects.[50]

The personal characteristics of race/ethnicity and gender are other important factors to consider when investigating civic development. For example, the 1998 National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) in civics, which surveyed the civic competence of students in the United States at grades 4, 8, and 12, reported that White and Asian-American students had significantly higher average civics scale scores than did African-American, Hispanic, or American-Indian students. At grades 4 and 8, Hispanic students scored lower than all other racial and ethnic subgroups and at grade twelve American-Indian students scored lower than any other racial or ethnic subgroup.[51] These findings are consistent with findings of other NAEP projects in civics, social studies, and U.S. history.[52] Data from the 1988 NAEP in civics revealed that twelfth-grade African-American and Hispanic students were more likely than Whites to say "they like to study government," but they were significantly less knowledgeable than White students.[53] African-American and Hispanic students' average civic scale scores were 13% and 11% less than those of White students.[54] The 1988 NAEP data also revealed that both African-American and Hispanic twelfth-grade students were considerably more likely than White students to believe that the government does not pay attention to them.[55]

Although somewhat more ambiguous, the research literature also suggests slight gender differences in adolescent civic development.[56] Niemi and Chapman found that males were more likely to (1) know more political facts (25.4% to 14.3%), (2) read (45.7% to 36.2%) and watch (42.9% to

[49] Ibid., 119-125.
[50] Ibid., 99.
[51] Lutkus et al., 35-36.
[52] Niemi and Junn, 125-126.
[53] Ibid., 133.
[54] Ibid., 141.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Niemi and Chapman, 25-26; Lutkus et al., 34; and Hahn, 103-130.

36.1%) the news at least once a week, and (3) report more confidence in their understanding of politics (58.5% to 54.4%).[57] Females, however, were more confident in their ability to speak at a public meeting (94.8% to 92%) and write to government officials (84.3% to 80.7%).[58] Females' average civic scale scores were slightly higher (2% - 4%) at all three grades of the 1998 NAEP in civics. However, the differences between males and females were statistically significant only at grades 8 and 12.[59]

The results of the 1998 NAEP survey differ from earlier NAEP civics surveys (1976, 1982, and 1988) and the general trend in the research literature that shows adolescent males slightly outperforming adolescent females on most measures of civic development.[60] Hahn suggests that this general trend may be related to the use of assessment items that favor male students.[61] Hahn's five-nation study – involving Denmark, England, Germany, Netherlands, and the United States – generally indicated negligible gender differences in adolescent political attitudes and where differences did exist, they were relatively small.[62]

Previous research has also demonstrated a relationship between several family-related factors and adolescent civic development.[63] Although early work by Hyman suggested that the family acted as a primary agent of civic development,[64] more recent studies by Jennings and Niemi as well as by Niemi and Junn temper the relative importance of the family vis-a-vis other factors thought to be related to adolescent civic development.[65] This research suggests that the relationship of the family to civic development largely depends on particular characteristics of the family. A

[57] Niemi and Chapman, 25-26.

[58] Ibid., 26.

[59] Lutkus et al., 34.

[60] The gender data from the 1998 NAEP is in contrast to previous NAEP surveys and the findings of many other studies on adolescent or adult civic development that have found males slightly more knowledgeable and interested in political matters. See, for example, Fred I. Greenstein, "Sex-Related Differences in Childhood," *Journal of Politics* 23 (February 1961): 353-372; and see Lee Anderson et al., *The Civics Report Card* (Princeton, NJ: National Assessment of Educational Progress, 1990), 16.

[61] Hahn, 105.

[62] Hahn, 114.

[63] See, for example, Paul Allen Beck, "The Role of Agents in Political Socialization," in *Handbook of Political Socialization: Theory and Research*, edited by Stanley Allen Renshon (New York: Free Press, 1977), 115-141; Niemi and Junn, 125-146; and Niemi and Chapman, 45-56.

[64] "Foremost among agencies of socialization into politics is the family." See Herbert Hyman, *Political Socialization* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959), 51.

[65] M. Kent Jennings and Richard G. Niemi, *The Political Character of Adolescence* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974), 301-302; Niemi and Junn, 124-125.

variety of family factors including educational level of parents, amount of reading/reference material in the home, speaking English at home, and living in a two-parent household are all related to adolescent civic development.[66] It is important to review the literature to explore the potential significance of these family-related factors as possible influences on the desired outcomes of *Project Citizen*.

Both parental education level and the political knowledge of the parent are significantly related to the civic development of their children.[67] Although it is not precisely clear how parental education influences civic development, it is thought to be associated positively to adolescent political knowledge, participatory behaviors, and certain attitudes, such as a sense of political efficacy.[68] Niemi and Chapman found children of more highly educated parents more knowledgeable about politics, more attentive to politics, more confident in their participatory skills, and more politically efficacious.[69] Data from the 1998 NAEP in civics also indicated a positive relationship between parental education and student performance on the test.[70] Closely related to the education level of the parent, parental political knowledge is also related to adolescent civic development. Even when controlling for education, parental political knowledge is significantly and positively related to student political knowledge.[71]

Although somewhat less clear, parental attitudes and behaviors are also associated with civic development among adolescents. Niemi and Chapman found that parental participation skills, political efficacy, and tolerance were positively related to those same traits in their children.[72] Data from the 1998 NAEP in civics implied a positive relationship between parents who frequently discuss their children's schoolwork and

[66] Niemi and Junn, 124. One family-related variable that appears to be negatively related to civic development is the amount of television viewing. A significant amount of television viewing (for example, more than 3 hours per day) is a family-related factor that appears detrimental to the political knowledge of adolescents. One possible explanation for this negative relationship is that adolescents who spend more time watching television, have less available time to be affected by other factors that are more positively related to civic development. See Niemi and Junn, 92-96.

[67] Niemi and Junn, 117-146; Niemi and Chapman, 47.

[68] See Niemi and Chapman, 39; and, Sydney Verba, Kay Lahman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady, *Voice and Equality: Civic Volunteerism in American Politics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), 429-439.

[69] Niemi and Chapman, 37.

[70] Lutkus et al., 37.

[71] Niemi and Chapman, 46.

[72] Ibid., 37.

average civics scale scores of students.[73] Parental partisanship seemed to be a significant predictor of child partisanship,[74] at least through middle adulthood.[75] Parental participation in community activities also appeared related to the same behaviors in their children.[76]

The amount of political reading and reference materials available in the home was also a positive correlate of civic development.[77] Of course, this variable captures more than the mere availability of materials and may be indicative of other important factors affecting civic development; for example, parents who make more political materials available may be more likely to influence the civic development of their children in other ways. Niemi and Junn found that the presence of political reading/reference material in the home was positively related to children's political knowledge, and in particular to knowledge about citizens' rights.[78] Further, they found that availability of political reading/reference materials had the strongest positive correlation coefficient of any family-related factor.[79] The combined influence of these family-related or home environment factors make them significant sources of civic development among adolescents.

The research literature includes a variety of community-related factors that appear to be related to adolescent civic development.[80] Involvement in organized community groups and issue-driven political participation and communication appear to be positively related to adolescent civic development. Each of these activities are also common occurrences, if not requirements, of participation in *Project Citizen*. The 1998 NAEP in civics reported that students in grade 12 who had volunteered in their community (whether arranged by the school or on their own) had significantly higher civics assessment scale scores that students who did not volunteer

[73] Lutkus et al., 96-98.

[74] Jennings and Niemi, 48-75.

[75] Richard G. Niemi and M. Kent Jennings, "Issues and Inheritance in the Formation of Party Identification," *American Journal of Political Science* 35 (November 1998): 969-988.

[76] Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 429.

[77] Niemi and Junn, 125.

[78] Ibid., 137.

[79] Ibid., 138.

[80] See, for example, Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 416-460; Miranda Yates and James Youniss, editors, *Roots of Civic Identity: International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Abraham Yogev and Rina Shapira, "Citizenship Socialization in National Voluntary Youth Organizations," in *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy*, edited by Orit Ichilov (New York: Teachers College Press, 1990), 205-220.

in their community.[81] It is not clear whether such participation is related causally to civic development or whether students with an inclination to participate in community groups start out more advanced on measures of civic development.

Surveying more than 5,600 respondents (12- to 19-year olds) from seven countries, Flanagan et al. found that adolescents in all seven countries who had volunteered in their community attached greater personal importance to working to improve their own communities and countries and to assisting the needy than did adolescents who did not volunteer.[82] Synthesizing several longitudinal studies that examined the relationship of adolescent community participation to the likelihood of community participation as adults, Youniss, McClellan, and Yates found that adolescent participation in organized community activities such as 4-H, YMCA, and Boy Scouts appeared to increase significantly the likelihood of adult participation in community groups.[83] The researchers speculate that participation in community activities as an adolescent has a lasting impact, because it introduces youth to the basic structure and organization of community groups and engenders in youth a civic character that becomes a part of their identity persisting into adulthood.[84]

Another community-related factor that appears related to pre-adult civic development is event- or issue-driven political participation and communication.[85] Studying a large sample of adults in the United States, Verba et al. found that "issue engagement" can function as an independent force in stimulating political participation.[86] Adults are inclined to

[81] Lutkus et al., 99.

[82] Connie Flanagan et al., "Adolescents and the 'Social Contract': Developmental Roots of Citizenship in Seven Countries," in *Roots of Civic Identity: International Perspectives on Community Service and Activism in Youth*, edited by Miranda Yates and James Youniss (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 49.

[83] James Youniss, Jeffrey A. McClellan, and Miranda Yates, "What We Know About Engendering Civic Identity," *American Behavioral Scientist* 40 (March/April 1997): 620-623. See also Jan Leighley, "Participation as a Stimulus of Political Conceptualization," *Journal of Politics* 53 (February 1991): 198-211. Leighley's research suggests that participation in national problem-solving and campaign activities enhances participants' "political conceptualization," a term roughly equivalent to "political sophistication."

[84] Youniss et al., 623-624.

[85] David O. Sears and Nicholas A. Valentino, "Politics Matters: Political Events as Catalysts for Preadult Socialization," *American Political Science Review* 91 (March 1997): 45-65; and Nicholas A. Valentino and David O. Sears, "Event-Driven Political Communication and the Preadult Socialization of Partisanship," *Political Behavior* 20 (June 1998): 127-154.

[86] Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 415.

participate when they believe government action or inaction on some issue will directly affect them or when an issue of personal significance rises to political prominence. This finding is very pertinent to *Project Citizen*, an issue-centered method of civic education.

Studying adults, Bennett examined the relationship between types of political participation and "political conceptualization" (roughly synonymous with highly organized political knowledge) and found that local, "grassroots" activism was more likely to enhance cognitive political complexity than other types of participation.[87] Bennett theorized that local or community-based political activities are more likely to include tangible and direct benefits to participants, place the participants in direct conflict with the beliefs of others, and require individual initiative. These factors, according to Bennett, are more likely to influence political conceptualization than voting or participating in a national campaign. Leighly examined data from the 1976 National Election Survey that supported Bennett's general hypothesis that political participation affects political conceptualization, but the data did not support Bennett's specific theory that local, "grassroots" participation is more likely to influence political conceptualization than other participatory activities.[88] These findings, of course, are relevant to *Project Citizen*, which engages students in local, "grassroots" political and civic activity for the purpose of promoting their civic development.

### School-Based Factors Related to Adolescent Civic Development

Like many of the significant non-school, personal, and social factors discussed in the preceding section, certain school-based factors are integral to this inquiry about *Project Citizen*. The civics curriculum of schools, for example, is supposed to be related directly and strongly with the civic development of students. Instructional treatments like *Project Citizen* are intended to bring about significant and positive changes in civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. Further, various school- and classroom-level factors may influence the civic development of students in combination with the civics curriculum and particular instructional treatments like *Project Citizen*.[89]

[87] W. Lance Bennett, *The Political Mind and the Political Environment* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1975).

[88] Leighly, 207-209.

[89] Lee Ehman, "The American School in the Political Socialization Process," *Review of Educational Research* 50 (Spring 1980): 99-119. Ehman uses the categories of "school-level factors" and "classroom-level factors."

Although the amount of a person's formal education has long been considered the single best predictor of civic development, the degree to which specific aspects of schooling affect adolescent civic development is more ambiguous.[90] Until recently, several empirical studies seemed to indicate that pre-collegiate social studies and civics courses had little effect on adolescent civic development.[91] The conventional wisdom has been that if a relationship between these courses and the civic development of students did exist, it was mostly limited to modest increases in political knowledge.[92] Corbett, reviewing data from an often-cited study of the high school civics curriculum, concluded that civics or government courses "are not very effective in transmitting either political knowledge or political attitudes."[93]

The repeated "finding" that social studies or civics courses have little or no effect on adolescent civic development has been effectively challenged by recent research and by critical analyses of the research on which this supposed "finding" was based.[94] Several studies suggest that a variety of school-based factors, including the recency and amount of social studies or civics courses, are strongly and positively related to adolescent civic development.[95] According to Niemi and Junn, both the amount and recency of civics courses are positively related to students' knowledge of government, trust in government, and certain democratic political attitudes.[96]

Studies that have examined the impact of a particular instructional treatment on adolescent civic development are particularly relevant to

[90] Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry, 31; Niemi and Junn, 13-20.

[91] Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin, *American Public Opinion*, 5th Edition (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1995), 131-132; Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum in the United States," *American Political Science Review* 62 (September 1968): 852-867; and Arnold Morrison and Donald McIntyre, *Schools and Socialization* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1971), 174.

[92] Ehman, 112-113. Data from some investigations, however, suggest that civics courses are positively related to some attitudinal changes especially among minority students. See Ehman, 105-108.

[93] Michael Corbett, *American Public Opinion* (New York: Longman, 1991), 215.

[94] Niemi and Junn, 20. Niemi and Junn point out that many of the inquiries, including the well-known Langton and Jennings (1968) study, were based on a limited number of rather obscure factual questions. See also David Denver and Gordon Hands, "Does Studying Politics Make a Difference? The Political Knowledge, Attitudes, and Perceptions of School Students," *British Journal of Political Science* 20 (April 1990): 263-288.

[95] Niemi and Junn; Andes Westhold, Arne Lindquist, and Richard G. Niemi, "Education and the Making of the Informed Citizen," in *Political Socialization, Citizenship Education, and Democracy*, edited by Orit Ichilov (New York: Teachers College Press, 1990), 69-97; and Denver and Hands.

[96] Niemi and Junn, 67-72; 121-123.

this evaluation of *Project Citizen*.[97] Instead of simply providing a description of adolescent civic development through survey research, these studies have employed quasi-experimental research methods to examine how the civic development of adolescents may be advanced by certain instructional treatments.[98]

In a large-scale study that examined the impact of "A-level Politics," a revamped civic education curriculum in Great Britain in the 1970s, on dimensions of civic development, Denver and Hands found that the sixth-formers (16-18 year-olds) who had taken "A-level Politics" possessed more political knowledge and were more "politically aware" than students not taking "A-level Politics."[99] However, exposure to "A-level Politics" did not seem related to political tolerance or political cynicism.[100]

Avery and her colleagues at the University of Minnesota found that a specialized four-week political tolerance unit appeared to positively influence the political tolerance of treatment group students in both middle schools and high schools.[101] Likewise, Goldenson's study of an experimental civil liberties curriculum was found to positively affect student attitudes about civil liberties.[102]

Patrick's study examined the impact of an experimental course, "American Political Behavior," on all three dimensions of civic development (the political knowledge, skills, and attitudes of students). This experimental course focused on democratic principles and intellectual skills not typically a part of social studies curricula. Patrick found that the experimental course was likely to have a positive impact on both the

[97]See, for example, Patricia G. Avery et al., "Exploring Political Tolerance With Adolescents," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 20 (Fall 1992): 386-420; Richard A. Brody, *Secondary Education and Political Attitudes: Examining the Effects on Political Tolerance of the We the People . . . Curriculum* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1994); Council for Basic Education, *Report on a Study of the Affective Impact of We the People . . . The Citizen and the Constitution* (Calabasas, CA: Center for Civic Education, 1996); Dennis R. Goldenson, "An Alternative View About the Role of the Secondary School in Political Socialization: A Field Experimental Study of the Development of Civil Liberties Attitudes," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 6 (January, 1978): 44-72; John J. Patrick, "The Impact of an Experimental Course, 'American Political Behavior,' on the Knowledge, Skills, and Attitudes of Secondary School Students," *Social Education* 36 (February 1972): 168-179; and Brian Stretcher, *Instructional Effects of the National Bicentennial Competition on the Constitution and Bill of Rights* (Pasadena, CA: Educational Testing Service, 1988).

[98]Goldenson, 45.

[99]Denver and Hands, 274.

[100]Ibid., 274.

[101]Avery et al., 399-402.

[102]Goldenson, 53.

political knowledge and "political science skills" of treatment group students, but it seemed to have a negligible impact on the political attitudes of students.[103]

Studying an instructional treatment of the Center for Civic Education, *We the People . . . the Citizen and the Constitution*, Brody found that students using the constitution-based civic education curriculum were more likely to be politically tolerant than students not using the program.[104] Brody also studied the impact of the program's culminating activity, a simulated congressional hearing. This culminating activity is similar to the one used in *Project Citizen*. Brody found that more extensive and competitive participation in the culminating activity was related to a greater impact on the political tolerance of students.[105]

In addition to research revealing positive effects of civics instruction on student achievement of knowledge, skills, and dispositions, several inquiries have demonstrated positive correlations between a variety of school-level factors (school location, type of school, participation in school government, and service learning experiences) and adolescent civic development. Data from the 1998 NAEP civics assessment, for example, suggest a relationship between the average civics scale scores of students and both the geographic location of the school (for example, central city, urban fringe/large town, or rural/small town) and type of school (for example, public or non-public) at grades 4 and 8.[106] In grades 4 and 8, students attending school in the central city had significantly lower average scale scores than their cohorts in other geographic locations.[107] At grade 8, students attending school in the urban fringe/large town classification had statistically significant higher average civics scale scores than those attending either rural/small town schools or those attending schools in the central city.[108] At grades 4, 8, and 12, students attending non-public schools had higher civics scale scores than students attending public schools.[109] In addition, students attending Catholic schools had higher

[103] Patrick, 179.

[104] Brody, 13.

[105] Ibid., 22. Chapter One of this monograph includes a description of the culminating activity of *Project Citizen*.

[106] Lutkus et al., 40. These variables were not examined at grade 12.

[107] Ibid., 40.

[108] Ibid., 42. No statistically significant differences existed between students' average civics scale scores and geographic location at grade 12.

[109] Ibid., 42. The authors of the NAEP civics report caution, however, against making "simplistic inferences" about the differences between public school and non-public school civic education experiences. Other factors, such as socioeconomic and sociological differences between public and non-public school students may account for at least some of the differences between the two groups.

average civics scale scores than students attending other non-public schools at all three grade levels.[110]

Other positive school-level influences on adolescent civic development include student involvement in participatory school activities such as student government, service learning, mock trials and elections.[111] Although *Project Citizen* cannot be categorized as any of these activities per se, it is an instructional treatment that requires students to become involved in their schools and communities. Niemi and Chapman found a relationship between students in a school that required service learning and greater political knowledge, more frequent conversations with parents about the news, greater confidence in participation skills, and a higher sense of internal political efficacy.[112] In addition, high school students who participated in student government were more likely to read the news, understand politics, and tolerate controversial books.[113] Student participation in mock elections, councils, and trials was also related to increased political knowledge and more developed political attitudes relative to those students not participating in these activities.[114] In a large-scale study of adult volunteer activities in the United States, Verba, Scholzman, and Brady found that exposure to politics at home (during adolescence) and involvement in school activities (in high school) were the strongest predictors of political interest.[115]

In addition to various school-level factors, a relationship has been shown to exist between classroom-level factors, such as teacher characteristics and instructional methods, and adolescent civic development. Various characteristics of the teacher and their potential relationship to civic development have been studied and some will be part of this inquiry on *Project Citizen*.

Goldenson's study of social studies classes in St. Paul, Minnesota found that the extent to which students viewed their teacher with "high credibility" was related to positive political attitudinal changes in students.[116] Years of teaching experiences also appears related to civic development. The 1998 NAEP in civics reported that students in grade 4,

[110] Lutkus et al., 42.

[111] These factors are classified as "school-level factors" for the purposes of this review because they often represent school- or district-level initiatives. However, they could also be the activities of a single classroom and thus classified as classroom-level factors.

[112] Niemi and Chapman, 58.

[113] Ibid., 32.

[114] Niemi and Junn, 123-124.

[115] Verba, Schlozman, and Brady, 438.

[116] Goldenson, 61-62. By contrast, low teacher credibility is slightly negatively related to positive political attitude changes.

taught by the least experienced teachers (two years or less), possessed the lowest average scale scores of any other category of teacher experience.[117] By contrast, there did not appear to be a significant relationship between years of teaching experience and students' average civics scale scores at grade 8.[118]

Two other teacher characteristics, level of education and amount of professional development, were also studied during the 1998 NAEP in civics. The data comparing these characteristics and average civics scale scores students is equivocal. At grade 4, students taught by a teacher with a Master's degree had higher average civics scale scores than those taught by a teacher with a Bachelor's degree.[119] At grade 8, however, there were no statistically significant differences between the average civic scale scores of students taught by teachers with more education and those taught by a teacher with less education.[120] At grade 4, students taught by teachers who reported "less than 6 hours" of professional development in the last 12 months significantly outperformed the students whose teachers reported "16 - 35 hours" of professional development in the same period.[121] The data from grade 8, however, suggests a different relationship. Students of teachers reporting "16 - 35 hours" of professional development experiences significantly outperformed those students whose teachers reported "less than 6 hours."[122]

Past research also demonstrated a relationship between several of the instructional methods commonly used in *Project Citizen* and characteristics of adolescent civic development. Niemi and Junn, for example, found that students who frequently (for example, more than once a week) experienced two teaching techniques common to participation in *Project Citizen*, "discuss and analyze the material you have read" and "discuss current events," had higher average civics scale scores than those students who reported using these learning activities less frequently.[123] Niemi and Junn also found that the data suggest a negative relationship between the frequency of two other instructional methods, "memorize the material you have read" and "take a test or a quiz," and political knowledge.[124] Furthermore, the 1998 NAEP in civics data suggest a positive relationship

[117] Lutkus et al., 69.
[118] Ibid., 69.
[119] Ibid., 66.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid., 71.
[122] Ibid.
[123] Niemi and Junn, 77-82.
[124] Ibid., 78.

between higher achievement of eighth-grade students and participation in group activities or projects.[125]

### Investigating the Instructional Effects of *Project Citizen* in the Context of Prior Research

This investigation of the instructional effects of *Project Citizen* rests on a foundation of prior research, which has been reviewed in the preceding sections of this chapter. Most directly, however, this investigation builds upon the research of Tolo, who surveyed 20 *Project Citizen* classes during the 1996-97 school year and 381 *Project Citizen* students during the 1997-98 school year to investigate student and teacher perceptions of the program. Tolo found that an overwhelming majority of students and teachers believed that *Project Citizen* positively affected students' civic knowledge, intellectual and participatory skills, and civic dispositions. Key findings of Tolo's survey were:

- students using *Project Citizen* believed they can and do make a difference in their communities;
- students and teachers believed that *Project Citizen* helps students develop a greater understanding of public policy, helps students learn how their government works, develops student commitment to active citizenship and governance, involves students in their communities, and helps students learn about specific community problems;
- students and teachers believed *Project Citizen* teaches students important communication and research skills; and
- students enjoyed *Project Citizen*.[126]

Tolo surveyed perceptions of unrepresentative samples of respondents in one country. There was no investigation of program effects beyond self-reports from convenience samples of students and teachers. By contrast, the inquiry reported in this monograph was a quasi-experimental study of *Project Citizen's* effects on students, which involved a pretest and posttest of treatment groups and comparison groups in the United States (Indiana), Latvia, and Lithuania. In addition, *Project Citizen's* impact was explored in relationship to a variety of demographic, programmatic, instructional, and school-type categories, which are school-level and classroom-level factors associated with the civic development of students.

[125] Lutkus et al., 92.

[126] Kenneth W. Tolo, *An Assessment of We the People . . . Project Citizen: Promoting Citizenship in Classrooms and Communities* (Austin: Lynden B. Johnson School of Public Affairs of the University of Texas, 1998).

This investigation directly builds upon the prior research of Avery et al., Brody, Denver and Hands, Goldenson, and Patrick by examining the impact of a specific instructional treatment on characteristics of adolescent civic development. Taken together, this research seems to indicate that it is possible for civic education curricula and particular instructional treatments in civics like *Project Citizen*, if properly organized and implemented, to affect adolescent civic development significantly in a variety of contexts. This research, however, pertains strictly to students and schools in the United States of America. Is it applicable to nascent democracies such as Latvia and Lithuania? Does *Project Citizen* positively affect the civic development of adolescents in post-communist countries, Latvia and Lithuania, as well as those in Indiana, where democracy is well-established? Findings about the instructional effectiveness of *Project Citizen*, reported in Chapter Six of this monograph, respond directly to these questions.

By exploring the relationships of a variety of individual-, family-, community-, and school-related variables to *Project Citizen*'s impact on civic development, this inquiry is related to the multitude of studies that suggest these factors may influence the civic development of adolescents in combination with particular curricular and instructional treatments. This inquiry is also related to those of Sears and Valentino and Verba et al., which have examined the relationship of "issue engagement" on characteristics of civic development. Somewhat more indirectly, this inquiry seeks to explore the relationship of adolescent community involvement and civic development as have studies by Flanagan et al., Lutkus et al., and Niemi and Chapman.

This investigation of the instructional effects of *Project Citizen*, however, differs from prior research and seeks answers to new and important questions. This inquiry, for example, is the first to measure systematically the impact of *Project Citizen* on the characteristics of adolescent civic development the program is designed to foster. It is also one of only a handful of studies to examine the impact of issue-centered instruction on civic development.[127] Finally, this study is a ground-breaking investigation of whether or not an American instructional product, *Project Citizen*, can be used effectively among students of post-communist countries with limited democratic experience, Latvia and Lithuania, and among students in a long-established democracy, the state of Indiana in the United States of America.

[127] Past research has investigated the impact of issue-centered instruction on certain civic dispositions. See Goldenson; and see Avery et al.

Because three variables were conceptualized specifically for this investigation – commitment to exercising the rights of citizenship, commitment to exercising the responsibilities of citizenship, and commitment to constitutionalism – this study is the first attempt at their measurement. In addition, this inquiry will provide insights into the relationship of various programmatic features of *Project Citizen* – such as nature of the issue selected, type of culminating experience, success in implementation (some of which are also characteristic of other issue-centered approaches to civic education) to adolescent civic development.

This monograph reports, in the context of related research, a fresh, original, and systematic investigation of the instructional effects on adolescent students of *Project Citizen*. The findings and recommendations generated by this study – discussed in Chapters Six and Seven – constitute an empirically based evaluation of *Project Citizen*. Civic educators can use it to make warranted judgments about the strengths and weaknesses of a popular instructional product.

# 4

# Methods of an Inquiry to Evaluate *Project Citizen*

*Thomas S. Vontz and Kim K. Metcalf*

In this chapter, we discuss the research methods and general study design used to address the research questions presented in Chapter One and to evaluate the instructional effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. This discussion of research methods and study design provides educators and researchers with the information they need to appraise the validity and limitations of this research. In addition, this discussion allows other researchers to replicate this inquiry in other countries and political units where *Project Citizen* is used as a vehicle to civic education. Parallel research methods and study design were used in each political unit. Slight differences in study design or research methods across political units are noted in this chapter.

This chapter includes five sections. In section one, we describe the general study design and discuss threats to internal and external validity. In section two, we discuss development of the instruments used in the study and their validity and reliability. In section three, we provide operational definitions of the dependent variables and discuss scoring of individual items. In section four, we report background and pre-program data comparing treatment and comparison students, teachers, and schools as well as evaluation response rates. In section five, we describe and explain the statistical methods used to address the research questions.

## General Research Design

To evaluate the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in achieving its desired outcomes in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania, we used a non-random, pretest/posttest comparison group design. Although treatment teachers chose to participate in *Project Citizen*, student participation in the program

generally occurred by the chance of students being placed into the class of a participating teacher, except for one treatment class in Indiana that used *Project Citizen* as a club activity. To establish the treatment group, all teachers who had previously participated in *Project Citizen*, as well as those who were considering participation in *Project Citizen* during the 1999-2000 school year, were invited to take part in the evaluation. Across political units, more than 80% of teachers invited to participate in the evaluation agreed to do it.

Treatment teachers (those using *Project Citizen*) were instructed to identify a comparison class of similar students based upon student characteristics such as age, grade level, ability level, and education level of parents. Each treatment teacher used the following protocol to select a comparison class:

1. If the treatment teacher taught another class of similar students not participating in *Project Citizen*, this class served as the comparison class.
2. If the treatment teacher did not teach a suitable comparison class, the treatment teacher sought a similar class taught by another teacher in his/her school.
3. If a suitable comparison class could not be identified in the treatment teacher's school, the treatment teacher sought a similar class in a nearby and similar school.
4. If no suitable comparison class existed in the treatment teacher's school or community, the treatment teacher contacted the researcher to intervene in the selection process.[1]

This protocol was designed to ensure the selection of similar comparison classes and teachers. Because of the limited number of potential comparison classes in a particular school or community, the comparison classes were engaged in a variety of academic subjects and not necessarily in other social studies or civics content.

Participation in the evaluation was voluntary for all students, and students in Indiana were required to obtain parental permission to participate.[2] Students participating in this evaluation were from public and private schools, rural and urban areas, "gifted" and "at-risk" classes, and elementary, middle, and high schools. Participants ranged in age from 9

[1]Data comparing treatment and comparison classes in each political unit are reported later in this chapter.

[2]The response rates in each political unit are reported later in this chapter.

to 18 years and in grade from 5 to 12. The vast majority of participants, however, were 13 to 14-year-old students attending middle schools in grade 8.

In Indiana six test administrators, identically trained and following the same test protocols, administered the pretest during January of 2000 and the posttest in late March and early April of 2000 to all treatment and comparison classes. In Latvia, two test administrators identically trained and following the same test protocols administered the pretest during January and February of 2000 and the posttest in April of 2000. In Lithuania, the students' regular classroom teachers received a full day of training in administering the instrument and thus followed identical protocols to administer the pretest in January and February of 2000 and the posttest in March and April of 2000.[3]

With one exception, the pretests and posttests were administered during the students' normal meeting time and location in all three political units.[4] In every country, the pretest was administered to both treatment and comparison students before treatment students began *Project Citizen* and the posttest was administered after the treatment students participated in the program's culminating activity. Although the test administrators differed across pairs of treatment and comparison classes, the test administrator was the same for each pair of treatment and comparison classes in each political unit. Each pair of treatment and comparison classes took the pretest and posttest on the same day or as close to the same day as possible. During the administration of the student posttest, all teachers completed a "teacher questionnaire." Data from the teacher questionnaire were used to make comparisons between treatment and comparison class teachers and to examine characteristics of the teacher that may be related to the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in achieving its desired outcomes (research question two).

In every political unit, student constructed-response items were scored by a single rater for both the pretests and the posttests guided by a set of scoring rubrics (see Appendix B). The rater in Indiana was trained by Thomas S. Vontz, and the raters in Latvia and Lithuania were trained by Kim K. Metcalf, both members of the research team. During the training

[3]Protocols for test administration are filed at the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, Bloomington. Anyone interested in obtaining copies of these documents is invited to contact John J. Patrick, Director of the SSDC.

[4]One pair of treatment and comparison classes in Indiana were brought to the school gymnasium to take the pretest. The posttest for these classes was administered in the same location.

sessions, each rater was provided scoring rubrics, definitions of the concepts being examined, and the opportunity to ask questions. At the end of the training, the raters scored hypothetical responses to each of the student constructed-response items and verbally defended their evaluation of the hypothetical responses. Information identifying classes as "treatment" or "comparison" were removed before rating.

**Internal Validity**. The general study design described above was constructed to control several threats to internal validity. By controlling threats to internal validity, the design enhances the likelihood that the treatment, *Project Citizen*, caused any differences found to exist between the treatment and comparison classes across the dependent variables. Said another way, attempting to control for extraneous variables reduces the likelihood of alternative explanations that might explain any differences between the treatment and comparison classes.[5] This section describes some common and important threats to internal validity and explains the ways the design of this inquiry was intended to control their influence.

Perhaps the greatest threat to internal validity, given the study design described above, is the "subject characteristics threat." Without random selection, it is impossible to obtain truly equivalent treatment and comparison classes and teachers. This study was designed to control for this threat in several ways. First, in all but two instances, intact classes of students served as the treatment classes. Thus, for the vast majority of students, participation in *Project Citizen* occurred by the chance of being placed into the class of a *Project Citizen* teacher. Second, the selection procedures described above were designed to ensure the similarity of treatment and comparison classes and teachers. Third, evidence of comparability between treatment and comparison classes in each political unit was obtained and analyzed (see Table 4.2). Fourth, pretest scores were used to adjust posttest scores to reflect pretest differences between the treatment and comparison classes on the dependent variables.[6]

In evaluating the effectiveness of an instructional treatment, the abilities and characteristics of the teacher represent a threat to internal validity. To control for teacher ability as a cause of variance between classes, wherever possible the treatment and comparison classes were taught by

[5]David R. Krathwohl, *Methods of Educational and Social Science Research: An Integrated Approach* (New York, NY: Longman, 1993), 454.

[6]This procedure is explained in greater detail later in this chapter, when we discuss statistical analyses.

the same teacher. Where treatment and comparison group teachers were different, differences between treatment and comparison teachers may partially account for variance between treatment and comparison classes. It is reasonable to assume, for example, that teachers choosing to use *Project Citizen* may be more willing to try new teaching techniques or more interested in teaching about government and civics than teachers who choose not to participate. Evidence of comparability between treatment and comparison teachers in each political unit are reported and analyzed later in this chapter. Still, the non-random selection of treatment teachers constitutes a threat to the internal validity of this evaluation.

Because the treatment was implemented by individual teachers, another threat to internal validity is implementation of the treatment. This threat is related to the degree that the treatment was being implemented uniformly and consistently with the original program design. The best way to control this threat – careful observation, comparison, reported treatment implementation – invites other threats to external validity (for example, reactive effects of experimental procedures) and was not possible given the size and limitations of this inquiry. Differences in treatment implementation are a threat to internal validity. However, to the extent possible, attempts were made to understand, account for, and explain their effects in research question two.

Attitudes of subjects may also pose a threat to internal validity and are difficult to fully control. One way to control this threat, provision of a different special treatment for comparison students to offset differences in student attitudes, was not possible given the limited resources of this research project. Although no special treatment was given to comparison classes, it is reasonable to speculate that neither treatment nor comparison students perceived participation in *Project Citizen* as special or abnormal, because the program was a part of a "regular" class (or "Project Week" in Latvia), except for two classes in Indiana that used *Project Citizen* as an after-school or study-hall activity.

Loss of subjects or "subject mortality" is another threat to internal validity. Some students in both treatment and comparison classes were absent or otherwise declined to participate in the evaluation. Across political units, a few students failed to complete either the pretest or posttest, and four classes in Latvia and Lithuania failed to administer the posttest or complete the treatment. Data from classes that failed to complete the treatment or the evaluation were not used to address the research questions. Further, it is possible that students or classes that fail to complete one or both instruments or the treatment are different from students or classes that complete both instruments or the treatment. To address the magnitude of these threats to internal validity, participation data, report-

ing the percentage of students in each class completing both the pretest and posttests and the percentage of classes completing the study, are reported and analyzed later in this chapter.

Several threats to internal validity are possible at the time of data collection and scoring. The location of data collection, the characteristics of the data collector, and the way in which the instrument is used and scored also pose potential threats to internal validity. By holding all of these variables constant for both treatment and comparison groups, the design of the study attempts to control their influence. Unless otherwise noted, the location of data collection was the students' regular classroom for both the pretests and the posttests. In Indiana and Latvia, the test administrators were the same for each pair of treatment and comparison classes across the pretest and posttest. In Lithuania, the test administrators were the students' regular classroom teachers and thus the same for each class across the pretest and the posttest. The test administrators in each political unit followed identical protocols for the pretests and posttests. Scoring of the student constructed-response items on the pretest and posttest was completed by one rater in each political unit, who was trained and provided scoring rubrics to help eliminate potential rater bias. In addition, the raters did not know whether an individual instrument was from a treatment or comparison class.

The instrument or test is also a potential cause of variance between classes and is sometimes referred to as the "testing effect." To partially control this threat, the pretests and posttests were identical for both the treatment and comparison groups. Thus, any gains on the posttest that could be attributed to having taken the pretest were the same for both groups. Still, there is a risk that the interaction of the test and the treatment may have accounted for some of the differences between treatment and comparison classes. The pretest might highlight aspects of the program to treatment students that would cause them to respond to the treatment differently had they not taken the pretest. The best way to control for this threat, eliminating the pretest, invites other threats to internal validity. Another way to control this threat, the Solomon four-group design, was not possible given the limited resources of this study.[7] Interaction of the pretest and the treatment may account for some variance between the treatment and comparison groups but is a minor threat to internal validity.

Finally, it is possible that one or several unplanned events occurred during this study to influence the responses of participants. To control for the "history effect," both treatment and comparison students were chosen

[7]For a description of the Solomon four-group design, see Krathwohl, 454.

wherever possible from the same school and community. Still, the possibility exists that some localized event in either the treatment or comparison class was responsible for differences between classes. However slight, the "history effect" is a threat to internal validity and difficult to fully control.

**External Validity**. The design and research methods of this investigation also affect external validity or the degree to which the results of this study can be generalized. This section discusses threats to two common types of external validity: population generalizibility and ecological generalizibilty.[8] Population generalizibility refers to the degree to which important characteristics of the subjects of an inquiry are similar to those of the target population – the population of people about whom generalizations will be made based on the results on the inquiry.[9] Ecological generalizibilty refers to the extent to which the conditions of the investigation (for example, nature of the independent variable, physical surroundings, time of day or year, pretest sensitization, or reactive effects of experimental procedures) may limit external validity.[10]

The target population for this inquiry consists of classes of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. To what degree, then, are the adolescent classes of this inquiry representative of classes of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania? Because of the non-random selection of study participants, it is impossible to claim that the participants of this investigation are truly representative of classes of adolescent students in each of these political units. However, this threat to external validity was partially controlled by the use of intact classes of adolescent students that did not volunteer to participate in *Project Citizen*. Thus, the students did not self-select into the program or the class, and the teachers did not create a new course to administer the treatment. It is also reasonable to assume that the adolescent classes participating in this inquiry were representative of adolescent classes in each of the political units. Included in the study were classes from urban and rural communities, public and private schools, and those that have been labeled "gifted" and "at-risk." In addition, individual students in these classes possessed a wide range of demographic characteristics as do adolescent students in each of the political units.

[8]Glen H. Bracht and Gene V. Glass, "The External Validity of Experiments" *American Educational Research Journal* 5 (Fall, 1968): 437-474.

[9]James H. McMillan and Sally Schumacher, *Research in Education: A Conceptual Introduction* (New York, NY: Harper Collins, 1993), 179-181.

[10]Ibid., 179-181.

Another important facet of population generalizibility, for purposes of this evaluation, is the teacher. Because the teacher is the primary source of the decision to participate in *Project Citizen*, teachers who chose to participate may differ in important ways from those who chose not to participate. The possibility of the interaction of teacher selection bias and the treatment limits the generalizibility of this inquiry. It is possible, for example, that teachers who chose to participate in *Project Citizen* were more interested in teaching government and civics or more interested in attempting to teach civics and government through new instructional treatments than typical teachers of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, or Lithuania. Conversely, it may be possible that unsuccessful teachers were more likely to seek new instructional treatments to offset their weaknesses. Given the limitations of this study and its design, it was impossible to fully control the confounding effects of the teacher with the treatment. Thus, the teacher represented a primary threat to external validity in this inquiry.

Threats to ecological external validity are also important to consider. The reactive effect of pretesting, for example, may limit the generalizibility of experimental findings. The pretest may increase or decrease treatment students' sensitivity to the treatment thereby reducing external validity. One way to eliminate this threat, eliminate the pretest, invites other threats to internal validity. Another way to reduce this threat, the Solomon four-group design, was not possible given the limited resources of the study.[11] However, both the nature of the instrument (for example, focusing on student attitudes and skills) and its instructions (for example, "we are interested in your honest opinion"), were intended to limit this threat to external validity. Still, there is no way fully to control this threat except to avoid pretesting entirely, which invites other threats to internal validity.

The teacher's role in using the treatment is another threat to ecological validity. It is possible, for example, that implementation of the treatment differed dramatically across treatment classes or in ways that were inconsistent with the design of the program. The best way to control this threat, observe and report program implementation, was not possible given the size and limited resources of the study, and it would have invited other threats to external validity (for example, the reactive effects of experimental procedures). Thus, implementation of *Project Citizen* by the teachers in this study was a threat to external validity.

[11] See Krathwohl, 454.

The nature of the treatment is another threat to ecological external validity. By offering free instructional materials and professional development, *Project Citizen* may have been more attractive to schools and teachers that otherwise lack the resources to purchase these items. In addition, because the use of *Project Citizen* requires teachers to moderately alter their existing curriculum, the program may have been more likely to attract teachers who are given the autonomy to make such curricular decisions. To examine the extent to which a pattern of participation in *Project Citizen* existed in each political unit (for example. a high percentage of private schools or urban schools), characteristics of participating schools and teachers are reported and analyzed later in this chapter. Still, the nature of the treatment, which could attract certain kinds of schools and teachers, constituted a threat to external validity.

Two other common threats to ecological external validity, the reactive effects of experimental procedures and multiple treatment interference, were not major threats to the external validity of this inquiry.[12] There were no experimental conditions, equipment, or observers to alter the normal behavior of treatment group students, and with the exception of a small percentage of one class of treatment students in Indiana and one class in Latvia, participants experienced the treatment for the first time. Additionally, the treatment was administered in association with a regular class (or during "Project Week" in Latvia). Thus, treatment students were less likely to consider participation as special, and comparison group students were less likely to resent non-participation.

### Instrument Development, Instrument Validity, and Instrument Reliability

The initial versions of both the teacher and student instruments were developed by the Center for Civic Education at Calabasas, California from January to March 1999. Suzanne Soule, Coordinator of Research and Evaluation for the Center for Civic Education and Charles Quigley, Executive Director of the Center for Civic Education (and one of the authors of *Project Citizen*), collaborated in developing the instrument.[13] According to Soule, Quigley helped to identify the primary aims of the

[12] Stephen Isaac and William B. Michael, *Handbook in Research and Evaluation for Education and the Behavioral Sciences* (San Diego, CA: Educational and Industrial Testing Services, 1995), 70.

[13] A copy of the posttest is included in Appendix A.

program, and she searched for "tried and tested" items in the research literature to measure the program's aims and objectives.[14]

For roughly 70% of the items in the student instrument, Soule used or adapted items from such sources as the *National Election Survey* (1998), Sydney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, and Henry E. Brady's (1995), *Voice and Equality: Civic Volunteerism in American Politics*, and from M. Kent Jennings and Richard Niemi's (1975) *The Political Character of Adolescents*.[15] A reading specialist was hired to modify adult items to the age-appropriate reading level of middle school students.[16] The remaining items were developed by Soule and Quigley in an effort to measure more specific attitudes, skills, and programmatic factors that are significant parts of *Project Citizen*. The teacher questionnaire sought only contextual information about the teacher, the school, the students, and their participation in the program.[17]

**Instrument Development**. Upon receiving the instrument as developed by the Center for Civic Education, John J. Patrick, Kim K. Metcalf, and Thomas S. Vontz analyzed each item and conceptualized an index of dependent variables. Upon review, the items in the instrument were associated with nine dependent variables clustered around the concept of civic development. The nine dependent variables identified initially were political interest, political tolerance, sense of political efficacy, propensity to participate, commitment to exercising the rights of citizenship, commitment to exercising the responsibilities of citizenship, commitment to constitutionalism, intellectual skills, and participatory skills.

Because the original instrument contained relatively few items attempting to measure intellectual and participatory skills, six items were developed by the research team and added to measure these characteristics of civic development. Students responded to these items on a Likert-type scale ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." The six items are:

- I am able to work with others to help solve important issues of public policy.
- I am able to identify important issues of public policy.
- I am able to accurately describe important issues of public policy to others.
- I am skilled at evaluating important issues of public policy.

[14]Suzanne Soule, Coordinator of Research and Evaluation, Center for Civic Education, telephone interview by author, 20 February 2000, Bloomington, IN.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Ibid.

[17]A copy of the teacher questionnaire is included in Appendix C.

- I am skilled at formulating a position on an important issue of public policy.
- I am skilled at defending my positions on an important issue of public policy.

Upon further analysis of the instructional treatment and the results of Tolo's (1998) survey of *Project Citizen* students and teachers, three items operationally defining a new dependent variable, civic knowledge, were added to the instrument. The following constructed-response items were designed to measure specific aspects of students' civic knowledge that are a part of *Project Citizen* regardless of the issue a particular class chooses to investigate.

- List three examples of important public policy issues in your community.
- List three examples of non-governmental organizations that work for the good of your community.
- Suppose someone asks you this question: 'What is democracy?' Write three examples that you would use to help this person understand the meaning of democracy.

Given the primary and pervasive treatment of cognitive and participatory processes in *Project Citizen*, items on the instrument emphasized the civic skills and civic dispositions of civic development. Items on civic knowledge, though part of civic development, were not included extensively in the instrument, because neither the objectives nor the procedures of *Project Citizen* call for direct, didactic, and systematic instruction about the principles, practices, and institutions of democracy. Thus, the civic knowledge variable of this inquiry was not constructed to measure the scope or depth of this component of civic development as fully as it might have been done in an evaluation of another type of civics program.

The revised instrument was sent to Suzanne Soule of the Center for Civic Education for comment and critique. Soule suggested one of the student constructed-response items be modified to clarify it. The last student constructed-response above was changed in response to Soule's suggestions.

The final version of the student and teacher instruments (see Appendices A and C) were translated into the languages of participating classes in Latvia (Latvian and Russian) and Lithuania (Lithuanian, Polish, and Russian). The translated instruments were "back-translated" into English to uncover any errors in translation. In a few instances, no direct translation existed for a certain concept or word. In Latvian and Lithuanian, for example, there is no direct translation for "public policy."

For these few concepts and words, the translator used other word combinations to convey accurately and adequately the concept or word.

**Instrument Validity and Reliability.** The initial conceptual model contained the following dependent variables, operationally defined by the items on the student survey, the Civic Development Inventory (CDI), which is displayed as Appendix A: political interest (items 9, 10, 11, 17a, 17b, 17c, 17d, 17e, 17f, 17g, 17h, 17i, and 17j), political tolerance (items 22a, 22b, 22c, 23a, 23b, 23c, 23d, 23e, 23f, 23g, and 23h), sense of political efficacy (items 13f, 16b, 16c, 20a, and 20b), propensity to participate (items 18a, 18b, 18c, 18d, 18f, 18g, 18h, 18i, 18j, 18k, 20d, 20e, and 21), commitment to rights of citizenship (items 12a, 12b, 12c, 12d, and 16a), commitment to responsibilities of citizenship (items 13a, 13c, 16d), commitment to constitutionalism (items 13b, 13d, 13e, 13g, 15b, 15c, 15d, and 15e), intellectual skills (items 14a, 14b, 24b, 24c, 24d, 24e, and 24f), participatory skills (items 19a, 19b, 19c, and 24a), and civic knowledge (items 25, 26, and 27).[18]

Validation of the CDI and of the constructs or concepts it was intended to measure was conducted in two ways. First, content-related validity was established through expert judgment and review of individual items over a period of several months. Second, factor analytic techniques were employed to refine the portions of the instrument intended to measure civic skills and civic dispositions. After the instrument had been revised on the basis of these processes, Cronbach's alpha was used to ascertain the reliability with which the instrument measured each of the resulting concepts and constructs.

Evidence of content-related validity was obtained through meetings of civic educators in Europe and North America. In late January of 1999, an initial draft of the student instrument was taken to the Bosnian *Project Citizen* Coordinator's Conference in Mostar, Bosnia and Herzegovina for review and critique by 35 civic educators. All conference participants were familiar with the design and objectives of *Project Citizen*.[19] An entire session of the conference was devoted to review and critique of the *Project Citizen* evaluation instrument. Suzanne Soule distributed the instrument to conference participants, explained what it was intended to measure, and invited both oral and written comments. Based upon these comments and criticisms, Soule modified and refined the instrument.

The revised instrument was again distributed to 50 civic educators at the *Project Citizen* Professional Developmental Institute in Los Angeles,

[18]The initial conceptual model is displayed as Appendix D.

[19]Soule.

California, February 12–15, 1999.[20] *Project Citizen* coordinators and trainers from the United States and several other countries attended the institute. After explaining the purposes of the instrument, Soule again invited participants to provide her with written and verbal comments about the instrument as a whole and about specific items in the instrument. Final modifications and refinements based upon these criticisms were made in February and March of 1999. The instrument was then used to measure the civic development of *Project Citizen* and comparison group students in Bosnia and Herzegovina in May of 1999.

The second step in our validation of the CDI was subjecting the items to factor analyses. It was necessary to apply factor analytic techniques for two reasons. First, such techniques provided a method for establishing the validity of the instrument, particularly those items intended to measure civic dispositions. Factor analyses enabled us to ensure that the items included in the instrument did, in fact, indicate students' acquisition of the civic dispositions included in the conceptual model. If factor analyses revealed that the model did not accurately seem to reflect the specific intended dispositions, the model could be reconceptualized; or if individual items were not appropriately related to the intended factor (i.e., disposition), they could be reorganized or eliminated to improve the validity of the CDI.

A second important reason for the use of factor analyses was as a data reduction technique. Factor analyses allowed items that appeared to measure similar dispositions to be grouped together and analyzed collectively rather than individually. The primary advantage of this approach is minimization of the number of discrete statistical comparisons that must be made to analyze and interpret the data. For example, rather than conducting comparisons between the treatment and comparison students on each of 25 individual items, thus compounding experimentwise error to an unacceptably high level, a much smaller number of measures each consisting of several individual but related items can be analyzed.

Factor analyses with varimax rotation were conducted on student data from both the pretest and posttest. Because the instrument and *Project Citizen* were initially developed for use by English-speaking students in the United States of America, factor analyses were conducted using data from students in Indiana. The initial conceptual model included three elements associated with adolescent civic development: civic skills, civic knowledge, and civic dispositions. Separate factor analyses were

[20] Ibid.

employed for refinement of the civic skills and civic dispositions portions of the student instrument. The items defining civic knowledge, because they were only a three-item set of open-ended, constructed-response items, were not subjected to factor analyses.

Multiple factor analyses were used in an attempt to identify the most reliable and valid approach for aggregating individual items into meaningful components of both civic skills and civic dispositions. The results of these analyses were compared across pretest and posttest data and in relation to the initially developed conceptual model. On the basis of these results and comparisons, a refined conceptual model was developed by reorganizing items into more relevant and closely related groups (i.e., component elements) and, when necessary, removing items from consideration in the final analyses.

Although the initial conceptual model identified two distinct kinds of civic skills (intellectual skills and participatory skills), factor analyses suggested that the items were most appropriately combined into a single dependent variable: **civic skills**. This approach had several advantages. First, the items originally intended to reflect discrete elements of the civic skills component of civic development were found to be very highly correlated and appeared statistically to represent a single set of skills. Second, the larger number of items associated with this single concept provided a much more reliable measure of civic skills.[21] Third, treating these items as one concept reduced the number of dependent variables to be considered in the analyses. Thus, statistical power was increased.

As noted earlier, the initial conceptual model included seven dispositions associated with civic development. However, multiple factor analyses indicated that the items associated with civic dispositions were most appropriately viewed as constituting only five civic dispositions. The results indicated that the items thought to reflect political efficacy did not provide a reliable measure of this construct, and that several of these items appeared more closely associated with other constructs. Thus, the variable was eliminated and, when appropriate, items were reassigned to remaining civic disposition variables.

In addition, factor analyses revealed that items originally intended to represent two civic disposition variables were sufficiently correlated to represent a single construct. As a result, commitment to the rights of citizenship and commitment to constitutionalism were combined to form a new variable: **commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship**.

[21] The alpha coefficients of the dependent variables are reported in Table 4.1.

Factor analyses also indicated that several of the original items did not appear to be consistently related to the concepts or constructs under investigation. This process resulted in the elimination of the following items: 9, 15c, 17a, 20c, 21, 13f, 13g, 16a, 17e, 17f, 17g, 17h, 17i, and 20b.

To be valid, an instrument must also be reliable or consistent from one administration to another or from one form of a test to another.[22] Given that the vast majority of items in the Civic Development Inventory were designed to measure the magnitude or degree of some characteristic (instead of simple right/wrong answers), Cronbach's alpha is a preferred way of establishing instrument reliability.[23]

Pretest data were used to determine Cronbach's alpha in each political unit and across political units. As a general rule, measures possessing reliability coefficients of .70 and higher are to be desired.[24] However, several factors should be considered in interpreting reliability coefficients including the number of items in the scale, the range of scores, and the heterogeneity of the group.[25] As shown in Table 4.1, the alpha coefficients for each of the dependent variables were roughly similar across political units. Propensity to participate, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, political tolerance, and civic skills are the most reliable measures. Alpha coefficients for remaining dependent variables (commitment to the responsibilities of citizenship, political interest, and civic knowledge) suggest they are somewhat less reliable measures, but they were still sufficiently reliable for purposes of this inquiry.

**Table 4.1**
**Alpha Coefficients of Dependent Variables**

| Dependent Variables | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania | All Countries |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Propensity to Participate | .7697 | .7691 | .7046 | .7754 |
| Commitment to Constitutionalism and Rights of Citizenship | .7585 | .5887 | .5619 | .6911 |
| Political Tolerance | .7200 | .6862 | .6406 | .6958 |
| Commitment to Responsibilities | .4998 | .4982 | .4242 | .5131 |
| Political Interest | .5716 | .5112 | .3984 | .5181 |
| Civic Skills | .8142 | .7456 | .7588 | .7993 |
| Civic Knowledge | .6263 | .6258 | .5089 | .5708 |

[22] Jack R. Fraenkel and Norman E. Wallen, *How to Design and Evaluate Research in Education* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 146-147.

[23] McMillan and Schumacher, 230.

[24] Fraenkel and Wallen, 149.

[25] McMillan and Schumacher, 230.

### Operational Definitions of the Dependent Variables

The dependent variables of the initial conceptual model are defined in Chapter One. This section operationally defines the dependent variables that emerged from factor analyses and specifies the scoring of each item.[26] Items operationally defining the civic dispositions and civic skills were measured by Likert-type scales. Student constructed-response items, used to measure civic knowledge, are discussed separately.

The following scales and score values were used to measure civic dispositions and civic skills:

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Strongly Agree | 5 points | 1 point |
| Agree | 4 points | 2 points |
| Uncertain | 3 points | 3 points |
| Disagree | 2 points | 4 points |
| Strongly Disagree | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Very Important | 5 points | 1 point |
| Somewhat Important | 4 points | 2 points |
| Uncertain | 3 points | 3 points |
| Not Important | 2 points | 4 points |
| Not At All Important | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Extremely Well | 5 points | 1 point |
| Pretty Well | 4 points | 2 points |
| Don't Know | 3 points | 3 points |
| Not Very Well | 2 points | 4 points |
| Not At All | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Often | 5 points | 1 point |
| Sometimes | 3 points | 3 points |
| Never | 1 point | 5 points |

[26] These operational definitions may be compared to the initial conceptual model by referring to Appendix D.

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| More than Once | 5 points | 1 point |
| Once | 4 points | 2 points |
| Don't Know | 3 points | 3 points |
| Have Considered | 2 points | 4 points |
| Did Not Do | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Very Sure | 5 points | 1 point |
| Quite Sure | 4 points | 2 points |
| Don't Know | 3 points | 3 points |
| Not Very Sure | 2 points | 4 points |
| Not Sure At All | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Permitted Completely | 5 points | 1 point |
| Permitted At Times | 4 points | 2 points |
| Don't Know | 3 points | 3 points |
| Not Permitted Very Often | 2 points | 4 points |
| Not Permitted At All | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Seven Days Per Week | 5 points | 1 point |
| Six Days Per Week | 4.5 points | 1.5 points |
| Five Days Per Week | 4 points | 2 points |
| Four Days Per Week | 3.5 points | 2.5 points |
| Three Days Per Week | 2.5 points | 3.5 points |
| Two Days Per Week | 2 points | 4 points |
| One Day Per Week | 1.5 points | 4.5 points |
| Zero Days Per Week | 1 point | 5 points |

| | Positive Items | Negative Items |
|---|---|---|
| Try to Watch | 5 points | 1 point |
| Both | 3 points | 3 points |
| It's Just On | 1 point | 5 points |

**Civic Dispositions.** Five civic disposition scales emerged from factor analyses and were used to operationally define the civic dispositions in this inquiry. They were given the following labels: political interest scale, political tolerance scale, propensity to participate scale, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship scale, and commitment to the responsibilities of citizenship scale. For each item a plus or minus sign

specifies whether an item is positive or negative. Scale type may be identified by referring to the posttest version of the Civic Development Inventory, Appendix A of this monograph.

### *Political Interest Scale*

+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from television?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from radio?
+ How many days a week do you usually watch a news program, such as the evening news on television?
+ Is news something you try to watch on TV, or do you just see it because someone else has it on?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from family and friends?

### *Political Tolerance Scale*

+ Should environmentalists be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should women's groups be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should religious groups be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should gay rights groups be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should anti-tax payer groups be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should student groups be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should the Ku Klux Klan be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Should anti-abortion groups be permitted to try to influence your government?
+ Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on what should be done about a problem in my community.
+ All groups in my community should be allowed to try to influence government.
– Members of some groups should not be allowed to run for political office.

### *Propensity to Participate Scale*

+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason spoken with a government official about problems in your community?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason tried to get other people to support your solution to a problem in your community or country?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason written a letter to a government official?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason phoned a government official?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason signed a petition?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason attended a local council meeting?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason made an appointment and visited a government official by yourself or with a group?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason taken part in a protest or march?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason met with members of interest groups to obtain information?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason called in to a TV/radio news/political talk show?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason tried to persuade someone to vote for a specific candidate or cause?
+ I feel well prepared for participating in political and public life.
+ Someday I might like to run for an elected office.

### *Commitment to Constitutionalism and Rights of Citizenship Scale*

+ Freedom to express your political views.
+ Freedom to join and participate in social and political groups.
+ The freedom to believe whatever you want to believe, even if most people do not agree with you.
+ The right to organize public meetings to criticize the actions of authorities.
− When a government is in the early stages of creating a new society the people must often be ruled with an iron fist.

- Elected officials should sometimes have unlimited power in order to achieve important goals.
- Once elected, government officials are not obligated to listen to the opinions of the people in their communities.
- Elected officials are only responsible for protecting the rights of the people who elected them.
- If you don't agree with law, it is all right to break it.
- It is not necessary that the highest government officials should always obey the law.
- Sometimes it might be better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution.

*Commitment to Responsibilities of Citizenship Scale*

+ Citizens are responsible for keeping themselves informed about public issues.
+ Citizens, as members of a society, have an obligation to participate in public life.
+ I can work with others to make changes in my community.
+ I try to help solve problems in my community.
+ I am responsible for respecting the rights of others with whom I strongly disagree.
+ I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing my community.

**Civic Skills.** One scale was used to operationally define civic skills. For each item a plus or minus sign specifies whether an item is positive or negative. Scale type may be identified by referring to the Civic Development Inventory, Appendix A of this monograph.

*Civic Skills Scale*

+ I am skilled at explaining problems in my community or country to other people.
+ I am skilled at using facts and reason to analyze other people's positions on problems.
+ How sure are you that if there were a problem in your community, you would know what government official or branch is responsible for such a problem?
+ How sure are you that you could find the government official or branch responsible for solving a particular problem in your community?
+ How sure are you that you know the steps necessary to influence members of your government?

- I am able to work with others to help solve important issues of public policy.
- I am able to identify important issues of public policy.
- I am able to accurately describe important issues of public policy to others.
- I am skilled at evaluating important issues of public policy.
- I am skilled at formulating a position on an important issue of public policy .
- I am skilled at defending my positions on important issues of public policy.

**Civic Knowledge.** Three constructed-response items were used to measure specific components of civic knowledge relevant to *Project Citizen*. Student responses were rated by a single rater and were scored according to the following point schedule:

| | |
|---|---|
| 0 Correct Items | 0 points |
| 1 Correct Item | 1 point |
| 2 Correct Items | 2 points |
| 3 Correct Items | 3 points |

The following items operationally define some aspects of civic knowledge that fit the purposes of this inquiry.

1. List three examples of important public policy issues in your community.
2. List three examples of non-governmental organizations that work for the good of your community.
3. Suppose someone asks you this question: "What is democracy?" Write three examples that you would use to help this person understand the meaning of democracy.

### Comparative Data and Response Rates

Establishing comparability between treatment and comparison groups was essential to this non-random, pretest–posttest comparison group study design. Obtaining highly similar comparison classes helped to ensure that the treatment, not existing differences between classes, contributed to any differences between treatment and comparison classes. To ensure the pre-program similarity of treatment and comparison classes, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) statistics were used to compare treatment and comparison classes on important student, teacher, and school characteristics. The review of related literature, Chapter Three of this monograph, suggested that several of these student, teacher, and school characteristics are significantly related to civic development.

## Table 4.2
## MANOVA Comparisons of Treatment and Comparison Classes

| | Indiana | | Latvia | | Lithuania | | All Countries | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Student Characteristics (Significance Level)** | .564 | | .685 | | .461 | | .176 | |
| | TR | CM | TR | CM | TR | CM | TR | CM |
| 1. Gender (Mean) | 1.5132 | 1.3558 | 1.6009 | 1.5286 | 1.6210 | 1.5002 | 1.5736 | 1.4508 |
| 2. Year Born (Mean) | 5.5202 | 5.2719 | 3.8979 | 3.3477 | 3.0325 | 3.1245 | 4.2286 | 4.0235 |
| 3. Grade (Mean) | 4.8004 | 4.8333 | 4.1068 | 4.6154 | 5.0446 | 5.0000 | 4.7097 | 4.0235 |
| 4. Ethnicity (Mean) | 4.5765 | 4.2338 | 1.4634 | 1.4393 | 1.5816 | 1.5699 | 2.7259 | 2.5813 |
| 5. Parents Born (Mean) | 1.8858 | 1.7437 | 1.5976 | 1.7915 | 1.7493 | 1.7350 | 1.7642 | 1.7528 |
| 6. Father Ed. (Mean) | 4.8053 | 4.5911 | 3.6112 | 3.9733 | 4.7306 | 4.4934 | 4.4746 | 4.3992 |
| 7. Mother Ed. (Mean) | 4.8944 | 4.3040 | 4.0640 | 4.1459 | 5.0920 | 4.7923 | 4.7525 | 4.4361 |
| 8. Univ. Con. (Mean) | 7.8800 | 7.0279 | 7.4892 | 6.9280 | 7.7143 | 7.0984 | 7.7219 | 7.0273 |
| 9. Language (Mean) | N/A | N/A | 2.92 | 2.92 | 3.44 | 3.44 | N/A | N/A |
| **Teacher Characteristics (Significance Level)** | .515 | | .695 | | 1.0 | | .536 | |
| | TR | CM | TR | CM | TR | CM | TR | CM |
| 1. Gender (Mean) | 1.7000 | 1.6000 | 1.6923 | 1.6154 | 1.6667 | 1.6667 | 1.6863 | 1.6275 |
| 2. Teaching Exp. (Mean) | 11.800 | 14.1500 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| 3. Teacher Ed. (Mean) | 1.5500 | 1.5000 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| **School Characteristics (Significance Level)** | .779 | | .353 | | .992 | | .861 | |
| | TR | CM | TR | CM | TR | CM | TR | CM |
| 1. School Rep. (Mean) | 4.2000 | 3.8889 | 4.3846 | 4.4615 | 4.3333 | 4.3333 | N/A | N/A |
| 2. School Type (Mean) | 1.1000 | 1.0556 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |
| 3. School Loc. (Mean) | 1.7500 | 1.8333 | 2.0000 | 1.8462 | N/A | N/A | N/A | N/A |

The results of MANOVA, displayed in Table 4.2, suggest that there were no significant differences between treatment and comparison classes across significant student, teacher, or school characteristics in each political unit and across political units. This finding suggests that differences found to exist between the treatment and comparison classes were not attributable to existing differences between classes. In addition, this finding suggests that the protocols that were used to select comparison classes were successfully employed to obtain very similar comparison classes, which were comparable to the treatment classes.

Participation rates, shown as percentages of students who completed both the pretest and posttest, are displayed in Table 4.3. These participation rates show similarity between treatment and comparison classes and were considered average for a voluntary student pretest–posttest study design. In Indiana, all treatment and comparison classes that began the evaluation, completed the evaluation. However, data from one treatment and its corresponding comparison class were dropped from the evaluation because its reliability became compromised during data entry.[27] In Latvia and Lithuania, a total of eight treatment and comparison classes that began the evaluation in each country were eliminated from the study. These classes were eliminated because the treatment or its corresponding comparison class failed to complete either the treatment or the evaluation.

**Table 4.3**
**Percentage of Eligible Students Who Completed Both Pretest and Posttest**

| | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania | All Countries |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Treatment | 73% | 56% | 77% | 70% |
| Comparison | 67% | 49% | 74% | 65% |
| Overall | 70% | 52% | 75% | 67% |

## Statistical Analyses

As noted in Chapter One, this inquiry focused on examination of two primary research questions with their constituent subquestions and two

[27] The loss of these classes was due to a malfunction of the computer scanning machine at Indiana University.

ancillary questions. Research question one was intended to examine the impact of *Project Citizen* on the civic development (defined by the five civic dispositions, civic skills, and civic knowledge) of students across and between the three political units. Research question two explored particular contextual, demographic, or programmatic factors that influenced the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* for students who participated in the program. The ancillary research questions (questions three and four) pertained to differences across and between the three political units, either in the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* or in the baseline level of students' civic development.

On the basis of factor analyses, the pretest and posttest instruments each yielded seven measures of students' civic development. Each measure represented the mean score of the student across the items constituting the dependent variable. In the case of knowledge, this mean represented a student's score across the three items with non-response assigned a zero value when computing the mean. For civic skills and each of the five dispositions, means were computed across relevant items, but items that were not answered by an individual student were not included when computing the mean.

Major research question one was addressed using comparative inferential techniques to examine whether participation in *Project Citizen* brought about positive change in students' civic development. The pretest/posttest, control group design allowed comparison of the civic development of students who had participated in *Project Citizen* with that of students who had not participated after adjusting for pre-program differences. In addition, because both the treatment and comparison groups were made up of students in each of three political units and these units differ substantially in their civic history and context, it was important to consider these differences in the current analyses. Thus, analyses were conducted that allowed concurrent investigation of research question one and the two ancillary research questions.

Research question one and the ancillary questions examined with it represent variables that are most appropriately investigated by using the class rather than the individual student as the unit of analysis. *Project Citizen* is a classroom-based program offered to individual students who are grouped (i.e., nested) within classes. As a result, the impact of the program on an individual student is impossible to separate from the effectiveness of the teacher and the characteristics of the class in which he or she receives the program. Thus, while it is often tempting to analyze educational program effectiveness data by assuming the independence of individual student scores, thereby substantially increasing sample size and resultant statistical power, such an approach has repeatedly been

found to misrepresent program effects.[28] Because such approaches are biased substantially in a positive direction, overestimating significant program-related differences, the evaluation used the 102 classes (51 treatment, 51 comparison) as the units of analysis in this phase of the study. For each class (on both the pretest and posttest), mean student performance on each of the seven measures was calculated (five civic disposition measures, civic skill, and civic knowledge) and aggregated by class.

Two-way analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) and multivariate analysis of covariance (MANCOVA) were selected as the most appropriate method of analyzing data associated with research questions one, three, and four. Pretest scores on the student instrument were used as covariates to control for any pre-program differences in civic development between the treatment and comparison groups.[29] Univariate and multivariate analyses of covariance integrated group membership (treatment or comparison) and political unit (Indiana, Latvia, or Lithuania) as primary factors, which also allowed investigation of the differential effects of *Project Citizen* across and between the political units.

As explained earlier in this chapter, civic development was constructed to consist of three components (civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions). Civic knowledge and civic skills each represented a single dependent measure, whereas civic dispositions embraced five measures. Separate, two-factor univariate analysis of covariance techniques were applied to the civic knowledge and civic skills variables. Two-factor multivariate analysis of variance and, when appropriate, individual univariate analyses were used to examine data associated with the five civic disposition measures. In both the univariate and multivariate approaches, Tukey-Kramer techniques[30] were used to explicate significant pairwise differences in order to control experimentwise error across multiple comparisons.

[28] See Robert S. Barcicowski, "Statistical Power with Group Mean as the Unit of Analysis," *The Journal of Educational Statistics* 6 (1981): 267-285; Kenneth D. Hopkins, "The Unit of Analysis: Group Means Versus Individual Observations," *American Educational Research Journal* 19 (1982): 5-18; R. C. Blair and James J. Higgins, "Comment on 'Statistical Power with Group Mean as the Unit of Analysis'," *The Journal of Educational Statistics* 11 (1986): 161-169.

[29] As noted earlier, no significant differences were found between the treatment and comparison groups in pre-program civic development or across the relevant demographic and contextual variables. However, analysis of covariance was employed to ensure the most accurate comparisons of program effect.

[30] See C. Y. Kramer, "Extensions of Multiple Range Test to Group Means with Unequal Numbers of Replications," *Biometrics* 12 (1956): 307-310; J. W. Tukey, *Exploratory Data Analysis* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1977); and J. W. Tukey, *The Problem of Multiple Comparisons* (Princeton University: Ditto, 1953).

Research question two was an exploratory investigation of factors that seemed to promote or inhibit the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* for students who participate. These factors include several demographic, programmatic, instructional, and school factors that may help explain differential effects of the program for individual students. As discussed in Chapter Three, these factors have been identified in earlier research or have been theoretically assumed to relate to or influence civic development, particularly of adolescents. However, the relation of these factors or their importance in the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* have not been examined previously.

Stepwise multiple regression techniques were used to examine the influence of each of these non-program factors on the extent to which *Project Citizen* promoted students' civic development. In order to focus the procedure, a single measure of each student's performance was computed by adding the seven mean dependent measures on the pretest and posttest. Using these individual, overall scores on the pretest and posttest, a standardized residual gain score was calculated for each student who participated in *Project Citizen*. This standard score represented a measure of the program's impact on the student's civic development.

Unlike research question one, wherein the overall effects of *Project Citizen* were examined, research question two more specifically investigated influences on the individual achievement of students within the program. For this reason, regression analyses in this phase of the study used individual students as the units of analysis.

Regression was then applied to each of four sets of data. A first set of regression analyses was used to identify factors which were associated with student gain across the three political units. For these analyses, 17 variables were included as predictors of standardized residual gain for the 399 students in the three political units who participated in *Project Citizen*. Three subsequent analyses each focused on the influence of non-program factors on students' civic development for each of the political units. These analyses included 21 predictor variables in Indiana, 18 predictor variables in Latvia, and 19 predictor variables in Lithuania.

As noted above, these analyses were, by intent, exploratory. They were intended to initiate inquiry that might help to improve the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* by informing program revision or adaptation to differential contexts. We believed that our analyses should be overly cautious and conservative, identifying fewer significant variables but being more confident in their importance rather than suggesting the value of variables that might prove to be less important. While sample sizes for some of the analyses of individual political units are comparatively small, this condition reduces statistical power, thus making all analyses overly con-

servative. Further, use of stepwise techniques also reflect the generally conservative approach of this portion of the study.

The context in which *Project Citizen* was implemented and a report of its use within each political unit are described in Chapter Five. Results of the specific analytic techniques used in this study, which indicate instructional effects of *Project Citizen*, are examined in Chapter Six. Interpretations and recommendations of this study's results for curriculum developers, teachers, and researchers are discussed in Chapter Seven.

# 5

# Implementation of *Project Citizen* in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania

*Giedre Kvieskiene, William A. Nixon, John J. Patrick, Valts Sarma, and Thomas S. Vontz*

The Center for Civic Education produced *Project Citizen* in 1992.[1] Since then, it has been implemented in schools in every state of the United States of America and in more than 30 countries in various parts of the world. *Project Citizen* was used initially in Indiana schools in 1995 and in Latvian and Lithuanian schools in 1998. These three political units – Indiana in the United States, Latvia, and Lithuania – are the locations of the research reported in this monograph about the evaluation of *Project Citizen*.

This chapter reports the initiation and use of *Project Citizen* in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. The context of civic education in each of the three political units is discussed. In addition, the story of *Project Citizen's* implementation is told to describe who was involved, how they were involved, and the consequences of their involvement.

## *Project Citizen* in Indiana

The state of Indiana, whose land was formerly a part of the Old Northwest Territory and the Indiana Territory, became the 19th state admitted to the union on December 11, 1816. Indiana is bordered by Michigan in the north, Ohio in the east, Kentucky in the south, and Illinois in the west.

[1] *Project Citizen* was expanded to a national program by the Center for Civic Education and the National Conference of State Legislatures in 1995.

Across a variety of indicators, Indiana is typical of many other Midwestern states in the United States of America. In 1997, Indiana's population of 5,864,000 spread out over 36,420 square miles made it the 14th largest state in population and the 16th most densely populated state in the United States of America.[2] Indiana ranked 15th in urban population and 10th in rural population (35% of total Indiana population) in the United States during 1990.[3] The percentage of minorities residing in Indiana place it near the middle of all states on this characteristic. In 1997 African Americans and Hispanic Americans accounted for 8.2% and 2.3% of the total population,[4] and in 1996 Asian Americans and American Indians accounted for 0.9% and 0.2%.[5]

Indiana's original Constitution of 1816 was replaced by the current Constitution in 1851. The 1851 Constitution, borrowing heavily from the Northwest Ordinance as well as the Ohio, Kentucky, and United States Constitutions, created a strong legislative branch and a relatively weak executive branch.

Using the conventional and popular political labels, Indiana is typically considered a politically conservative state. Since 1900, Indiana citizens have chosen the Republican presidential candidate in every general election except ones in 1912, 1932, 1936, and 1964. However, data from 1999 revealed that only a slight majority of members of the state legislature were Republican (52%), which ranked 22nd of the 50 states and several high ranking elected positions in city, state, and federal government were held by Democrats including Governor, Attorney General, Mayor of Indianapolis, one United States Senator, and four of Indiana's ten members in the United States House of Representatives.[6] Eighty percent of those eligible were registered to vote in Indiana during the general election in 1996,[7] yet only 38.7% of the eligible population voted during 1994, which ranked 44th among the 50 states.[8]

In Indiana, and all other states in the United States, the power to establish and regulate a system of education is "reserved to the states respectively" by the Tenth Amendment. Article 8 of the Indiana Constitution requires establishment of a public school system "equally open to all."

[2]Kendra A. Hovey and Harold Hovey, *CQ's State Fact Finder 1999: Rankings Across America* (Washington, DC: Congressional Quarterly, 1999), 16.

[3]Kathleen O'Leary Morgan, Scott Morgan, and Mark A. Uhlig, editors, *A Statistical View of the 50 United States: State Rankings 1998* (Lawrence, KS: Morgan Quitno, 1998), 441 and 443.

[4]Hovey and Hovey, 25.

[5]Morgan, Morgan, and Uhlig, 458 and 460.

[6]Hovey and Hovey, 103.

[7]Ibid., 110.

[8]Morgan, Morgan, and Uhlig, 503.

Although the United States Supreme Court has said that obtaining an education is not a "right granted to individuals by the United States Constitution;"[9] the court has also said that education in not merely a "benefit provided by states."[10] Recognizing the fundamental importance of education in maintaining a free and democratic society, every state provides for the free public schooling of its citizens.

The vast majority of Indiana's K-12 students attended public schools (90.7%) in 1995.[11] Slightly more than 15% of Indiana's public school students in 1998 were members of a racial minority (11.17% African American, 2.58% Hispanic American, 0.84% multiracial, 0.83% Asian American, and 0.19% American Indian.)[12]

Civic education has been and continues to be an important part of the mandatory curriculum in Indiana. Similar to civic education legislation it passed in 1937 and 1975, the Indiana General Assembly passed legislation in 1995 requiring public schools to integrate "good citizenship instruction."[13] Sections 1 to 4.5 of the "Mandatory Curriculum" chapter of its state code pertain directly to civics and include topics such as "Constitutions."[14] The 1995 law also called for the Indiana Department of Education to develop a comprehensive plan of "good citizenship instruction." Responding to this mandate, the Indiana Department of Education created *Partners for Good Citizenship: A Citizenship Resource Guide*, which provides three to four citizenship lessons per grade that may be integrated into existing curricula.[15] The guide also includes a civic education bibliography and provides an annotated list of civic education programs available to Indiana teachers that includes *Project Citizen*.[16]

The 1996 *Indiana Social Studies Proficiency Guide*, published by the Indiana Department of Education, says that the fundamental purpose of social studies "is to provide preparation and practice for active, lifelong citizenship."[17] Although civic education is integrated throughout the

[9] See *San Antonia School District v. Rodriguez*, 411 U.S. 1 (1973).

[10] See *Plyler v. Doe*, 457 U.S. 202 (1982).

[11] Hovey and Hovey, 196.

[12] Indiana Department of Education, *Indiana Department of Education Annual Report 1998* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Department of Education, 1998), 22.

[13] Indiana Code, sec. 20-10.1-4-(1-5).

[14] Kenneth W. Tolo, *The Civic Education of American Youth* (Austin: Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs of the University of Texas, 1999), 15.

[15] Indiana Department of Education, *Partners for Good Citizenship: A Citizenship Resource Guide* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Department of Education, 1998), vii.

[16] Ibid., 222-223.

[17] Indiana Department of Education, *The Social Studies Proficiency Guide: An Aid to Curriculum Development* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Department of Education, 1997), 3.

scope and sequence of the Indiana social studies curriculum, civics is normally stressed in grades 5, 8, and 12.[18] In grade 5, Indiana students study the early history of the United States of America and "should also be able to describe the major components of our national government and to demonstrate responsible citizenship in the classroom and school setting."[19] In grade 8, Indiana students study United States history and "should demonstrate through their studies a commitment to the rights and responsibilities of citizenship in a democratic society."[20] At the high school level, minimum high school graduation requirements for social studies include two semesters in United States History, one semester in United States Government, and one additional social studies course related to citizenship.[21] The course in United States Government is designed to "develop knowledge, inquiry skills, and the means to preserve and improve our constitutional democracy."[22] Most Indiana schools offer the required course in United States Government in grade 12.

In 1992 the Indiana General Assembly created the Indiana Professional Standards Board to govern teacher training and licensing programs throughout Indiana.[23] In 1994 the Board adopted performance-based standards for the preparation and licensure of educational professionals and adopted the Interstate New Teacher Assessment and Support Consortium's (INTASC) model as the basis for Indiana's system of preparing and licensing teachers. In Indiana, teachers must demonstrate competence of standards in three domains: (1) the INTASC Core Standards, (2) Developmental Standards (Early Childhood, Middle Childhood, Early Adolescence, and Adolescence/Young Adulthood), and (3) Content Standards (social studies).[24] Of nine content standard categories in the social studies, two are directly related to civic education, "Civic Ideals and Practices" and "Government and Citizenship," and two others feature civic education as an important component, "Historical Perspectives" and "Current Events."[25]

[18] Ibid., 7-9.

[19] Ibid., 67.

[20] Ibid., 111.

[21] Indiana Department of Education, *Course and Programs Descriptions for Indiana Schools* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Department of Education Center for School Improvement and Performance, 1997), 137.

[22] Indiana Department of Education, *The Social Studies Proficiency Guide*, 161.

[23] Indiana Professional Standards Board, *Standards for Teachers of Social Studies* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana Professional Standards Board, 1998), i.

[24] Indiana Professional Standards Board, v.

[25] Ibid., 1-14.

The Indiana General Assembly recently passed a law with important implications for civic education and for *Project Citizen*. The 1999 law required the Indiana State Board of Education to write and adopt "clear, concise, and jargon free state academic standards that are comparable to national and international academic standards" in English, mathematics, social studies, and science.[26] The law also required that science (beginning in 2002-03) and social studies (beginning in 2003-04) be integrated into the statewide testing program known as the Indiana Statewide Testing for Educational Progress (ISTEP). The grade 10 ISTEP is a high school graduation qualifying examination and is thus considered a "high stakes" test. Beginning in 2000, all Indiana students must demonstrate competence in the academic content standards. The social studies standards and the social studies component of ISTEP will no doubt influence the continued expansion of *Project Citizen* in Indiana. Schools and teachers will be under increasing pressure to ensure students have mastered the content standards adopted by the Indiana State Board of Education. To a great extent, the future expansion of *Project Citizen* in Indiana will depend on the degree to which the newly created standards and statewide social studies test reflect its important objectives.

*Project Citizen* in Indiana is administered jointly by the Indiana Program for Law-Related Education of Indiana University's Social Studies Development Center and the James F. Ackerman Center for Democratic Citizenship of Purdue University. Thomas Vontz and Lynn Nelson co-direct Indiana's *Project Citizen* program. The program also is supported by the Indiana State Bar Association, Indiana Bar Foundation, Indiana State Department of Education, Indiana House of Representatives, and USA Group Foundation. Lynn Nelson believes that the supportive network of public and private organizations is an indispensable factor in the program's success.[27] Indiana's program brings together the state's two largest universities as well as other important governmental and non-governmental organizations in a cooperative effort to promote civic education generally and *Project Citizen* specifically. Using the considerable resources of this network has aided all phases of program expansion including teacher recruitment, program awareness, professional development, and funding.

Indiana began its involvement in the program by serving as one of the pilot states for *Project Citizen* during the 1994-95 school year. During that year, community leaders, such as Judge Gregory Donat, volunteered to

[26] Indiana Code, 20-10.1-17-3.

[27] Telephone interview by Thomas S. Vontz with Dr. Lynn Nelson, Director, James F. Ackerman Center for Democratic Citizenship, Purdue University, June 2, 1999.

assist administrators from Indiana and Purdue University to help promote the program and organize competitions. During the pilot year, one middle school class participated in a simulated legislative hearing in Lafayette, Indiana. For the next four years, the program continued a slow but steady expansion, but never involved more than five middle school classes at a single state competition.

Both the 1998-99 and 1999-2000 school years were important to the expansion of Indiana's program. During the 1998-99 school year Indiana's *Project Citizen* program increased dramatically, going from five portfolios at a single state competition in 1997-98 to 21 portfolios at two regional competitions in 1998-99. In addition, the top three portfolios of each regional competition were invited to participate at the state competition held at the state capital in Indianapolis.[28] Although most of the participating classes were from middle schools in grades 6, 7, or 8, several upper elementary classes also began participating in 1998-99. Much of this increase was due to professional development workshops organized by Richard Borries, Social Studies Supervisor of the Evansville-Vanderburgh School Corporation and conducted by Pamela Luenz, a retired *Project Citizen* teacher from Lafayette, Indiana. Teachers that participated in these workshops were provided free class sets of *Project Citizen* materials, a part of Indiana's annual allotment from the Center for Civic Education.

During the 1998-99 school year the program was also aided by formation of an advisory committee of influential community leaders and a grant from the USA Group Foundation.[29] During the fall of 1998, the *Project Citizen* Advisory Board met for the first time to discuss the future of the program in Indiana. Several ideas that were generated during the meeting came to fruition the following spring. For example, ideas about funding, professional development institutes, regional competitions, and moving the state competition to the state capital all became realities during the spring semester. In addition, the USA Group Foundation provided administrators in Indiana with significant funding for a professional development institute during the summer of 1999.

The participation of several Indiana teachers in the five-day *Project Citizen* Institute during the summer of 1999 set the stage for further program expansion during the 1999-2000 school year. In 1999-2000, 29 port-

[28] An additional 21 portfolios were not entered in the competition during the 1998-99 school year.

[29] The USA Group, a non-profit organization based in Indiana, insures lenders against default on federal education loans, supports other student loan guarantors, services student loan accounts for lenders, and operates one of the nation's largest student loan secondary markets.

folios were submitted to three regional competitions held in Evansville, Indianapolis, and Lafayette.[30] Although all of the portfolios submitted for competition were from middle school classes in grades 6, 7, or 8, upper elementary classes (grade 5) as well as high school classes (grades 9-12) also participated in the program and conducted in-school legislative hearings. The top three portfolios from each of the regional competitions advanced to the state competition held at the state capital in Indianapolis. The Indiana House of Representatives, under the leadership of Lee Smith and Anna Johansen, assisted in organizing and conducting the state competition and arranged for students to interact with their representative in the Indiana Legislature as well as a representative of a state agency closely related to their issue. These government officials listened to the students' presentation and met with students to discuss their issue. Twenty treatment classes with 275 students and 20 comparison classes with 267 students completed the study to evaluate *Project Citizen*, which is reported in this monograph. Thus, in Indiana 542 students in forty classes participated in this study to evaluate *Project Citizen*.

Indiana classes participating in *Project Citizen* have studied a wide-range of school and community issues such as school bus safety, school violence, teen pregnancy, and the construction of an interstate highway through the community. Students have interacted with a variety of governmental and non-governmental organizations including school boards, town councils, mayors, neighborhood associations, special interest groups, and social service agencies. Although not a requirement of participation in the program, several classes have initiated or been invited to formally present their portfolios to community groups and governmental entities. At least one class from Indiana has been successful in implementing their class policy: construction of a new roller skating rink in Lafayette.

Many *Project Citizen* students in Indiana believe that their participation has greatly enhanced their ability to work together to solve common problems and enhanced their understanding of "the system."[31] Although many Indiana teachers believe that implementing *Project Citizen* is labor intensive, they also report that the program motivates students in ways that typical civic education curricula do not.[32] Like their students, many Indiana teachers believe that *Project Citizen* is an excellent means to encourage and enable active civic participation.

[30] An additional 21 portfolios were not entered in the competition during the 1999-2000 school year.

[31] Based on informal conversations with *Project Citizen* students during the 1998-99 *Project Citizen* competitions.

[32] Based on informal conversations with *Project Citizen* teachers during the 1998-99 *Project Citizen* competitions.

Administrators and program supporters in Indiana hope to build on the recent expansion of the program next year by attracting additional teachers and funding to the program. Eight Indiana teachers are registered to attend a second *Project Citizen* Institute again funded by the USA Group Foundation. Like the *Project Citizen* program in other states and countries, the future expansion of the program will depend upon securing additional resources and support for the program from both public and private organizations.

### *Project Citizen* in Latvia

Latvia is located at the eastern end of the Baltic Sea, in the northeastern part of Europe. Its neighbor directly to the north is Estonia, and directly to the south is Lithuania. Belarus and Russia lie to the southeast and northeast of Latvia. The capital of Latvia is Riga, located at the Daugava River, where it flows into the Gulf of Riga and the Baltic Sea beyond. The territory of Latvia is small, an area of 64,610 square kilometers (about the size of West Virginia). The population is about 2,500,000 but only 1,422,395 (56.6%) are Latvians.[33] More than 850,000 people live in Riga, the capital, but less than 40% are Latvians in their primary language and ethnic identity.[34] Since 1991, the proportion of Latvians in Latvia has increased slowly and slightly.

More than 40% of the population of Latvia consists of various Slavic peoples (Russians, Belorussians, Ukrainians, and Poles). About 30% are Russians. Thus, Latvians are barely a majority in their centuries-old homeland in which they had constituted more than 77% of the population in 1935.[35]

The existence of Latvia and its culture have been at risk in modern times, especially since World War II. Between 1940 and the 1980's, more than 150,000 Latvians were expelled from their homeland or killed by authorities of the Soviet Union; there were mass deportations to various parts of Russia and Soviet territories in Central Asia. From June 1940 to June 1941, for example, the Soviets executed and deported more than

[33] Richard Crampton and Ben Crampton, *Atlas of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 249.

[34] Roberts Kilis and Evita Lune, "Globalization and Human Development in Latvia," in *Latvia: Human Development Report*, edited by Talis Tisenkopfs et al. (Riga, LV: United Nations Development Programme, 1999), 12.

[35] Andrejs Plakans, *The Latvians: A Short History* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1995), 158.

35,000 people.[36] Immediately after World War II, from 1945-46, Soviet authorities deported or killed about 60,000 people.[37] Further, from March 24 to March 30, 1949, about 50,000 Latvians were deported and resettled in various parts of the Soviet Union, including forced labor camps in Siberia.[38]

Soviet authorities replaced the murdered and deported Latvians with Russian, Belorussian, and Ukrainian settlers. In addition, they subordinated or repressed the language and heritage of Latvians, who were forced to conform to the Russian culture. Thus, policies of an alien regime based in Moscow, the government of the Soviet Union, profoundly changed the demographic and cultural composition of Latvia and produced the current situation wherein Latvians are a slim majority in their homeland. According to political scientist Juris Dreifelds, "The Latvian nation was moving inexorably toward that point where national dissolution could become irreversible."[39]

In 1991, after more than fifty-one years of foreign domination and exploitation, the Latvian people effectively restored their independent nation-state. They declared that their sovereign republic was neither a Soviet-successor state nor a newly independent country. Rather, the Republic of Latvia (*Latvijas Republika*) was free to restore the *Satversme*, the democratic Constitution of 1922, and continue its national development, which had been cruelly interrupted in June 1940 by Latvia's forcible incorporation into Stalin's Soviet Union. Latvia's Parliament (*Saeima*) effectively reasserted its sovereignty, reestablished traditional national symbols, and restored the Latvian language to primacy instead of Russian. By September 1991, Latvia's sovereignty was recognized by most countries, and it was admitted to the United Nations.

Since 1991, Latvians have joyfully and emphatically acted to reverse the fifty-year Soviet led assault on their culture and nationhood. They have restored long-suppressed symbols of sovereignty, such as their national flag, anthem, insignia, and Constitution. Adopted February 15, 1922, the restored *Satversme* proclaimed in Section 1, "Latvia shall be an independent and democratic Republic." Further, this opening part of the

[36] Romuald J. Misiunas and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 42.

[37] Ibid., 73.

[38] Plakans, 156.

[39] Juris Dreifelds, *Latvia in Transition* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 42.

1922 Constitution declares, "The sovereign power of the Latvian State shall belong to the People (*Tauta*) of Latvia" (the Latvian folk).[40] Government by consent of the governed (popular sovereignty) and democratic republicanism are proclaimed principles of the basic law of the land, as is a commitment to preserve the Latvian heritage, the culture of the *Tauta*, in response to the ever-present threat of Russian cultural and political influence. Latvia's Declaration of Sovereignty in 1989 asserted that the territory of the Latvian Republic is the "only place on earth where the Latvian nation can fully exercise its right to statehood and develop without hindrance the Latvian language, national culture, and economy.[41]

The restored 1922 Constitution provides a parliamentary system of representative government that is accountable directly to the citizens. The *Satversme* distributes the powers of government among executive, legislative, and judicial branches. But the *Saeima*, the legislative branch or Parliament, definitely is supreme. The legislature selects the state president and members of the judiciary. And it approves or rejects nominations to key executive offices, such as the offices of prime minister and the ministers of the cabinet. The primary check upon the power of Parliament comes from the citizens. In their roles as voters and petitioners, the citizens of Latvia can determine the composition and general direction of policy making in their Parliament. So the regular quadrennial parliamentary election is a defining event of Latvian constitutional democracy.[42]

Since the fall of the Soviet Union and the effective restoration of Latvian independence in 1991, the implementation of the Constitution of 1922 has yielded genuine, if incomplete, democratic governance. The first criterion by which political theorists determine the authentic practice of democracy is the conduct of free, fair, open, and contested elections of the people's representatives in government. A second criterion, closely related to the first, is that freedom of expression, assembly, and association are guaranteed constitutionally and practiced genuinely. A third criterion is that suffrage should be broadly inclusive of the country's population, so that virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote in public elections of governmental representatives.[43]

[40] A copy of the Constitution (*Satversme*) can be obtained through the World Wide Web from the *Saeima* website <www.saeima.lanet.lv>.

[41] Graham Smith, *The Baltic States: The National Self-Determination of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 190.

[42] Additional information about the structure and institutions of Latvian government can be obtained directly from the *Saeima* website; <www.saeima.lanet.lv>.

[43] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1991), 7.

By the three criteria stated above, which constitute a minimal definition of democratic government, Latvia has performed satisfactorily if not perfectly. Since 1991, there have been three parliamentary elections. Information was freely communicated through an independent mass media. Several political parties competed for election to the Parliament. Further, large majorities of eligible voters participated in the parliamentary elections of the 1990s. Finally, a group of international observers of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe certified that the elections were free and fair.[44]

Latvia has passed an acid test of democratic development. This test requires that in order to be an authentic democracy, a country must make two consecutive peaceful, lawful, and orderly changes of government by free, fair, and contested public elections. The 1999 Freedom House survey of "freedom in the world" recognized Latvia's progress in democracy by including it among the world's 85 free countries.[45] According to political scientist Juris Dreifelds, "In Latvia the key indicators of a democratic state have been put in place."[46]

Obstacles and challenges to democracy remain, however, stemming from the totalitarian legacy of Soviet rule. Many Latvians have had little opportunity to develop the resources necessary for effective democratic participation. A few years of freedom have not provided sufficient time to undo the damage of fifty years of totalitarian tyranny. For example, a recent survey of public opinion and behavior revealed that "the level of civic participation is low." Many Latvians also express authoritarian attitudes. Further, slightly less than half of the Latvian population believe that "democracy in Latvia will become firmly established."[47]

Another challenge to Latvian aspirations for transition to democracy is the sizable Slavic ethnic groups that came to Latvia by command of Soviet authorities. Most of these people are not citizens and thereby are unable to vote or otherwise participate fully in the political and civic life of Latvia. At the end of the 1990's, the total number of non-citizens residing in Latvia was approximately 605,000, about 28% of the population. Most of the non-citizens are Russian. The number of citizens is approxi-

[44] Adrian Karatnycky, Alexander Motyl, and Charles Graybow, *Nations in Transit* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1998), 344.

[45] Adrian Karatnycky, "The 1999 Freedom House Survey," *Journal of Democracy* 11 (January 2000), 192.

[46] Dreifelds, 175.

[47] Ritma Rungule, Aivars Tabuns, and Ilze Koroleva, "The Market Economy, Democracy, Globalization, and Youth," in *Latvia: Human Development Report*, edited by Talis Tisenkopfs et al. (Riga, LV: United Nations Development Programme, 1999), 102-104.

mately 1,890,000 of which 78% are Latvians in their primary language and ethnic identity.[48] Any ethnically non-Latvian person who is descended from people living in Latvia before 1940 automatically is a citizen of Latvia today. And non-Latvian residents of Latvia may become naturalized citizens if they satisfy certain reasonable requirements, such as learning the Latvian language and history and pledging allegiance to the Constitution and the Republic.[49] However, the continued existence in Latvia of a proportionally large population of non-Latvians, who do not become citizens either by choice or exclusion, is a political problem that could threaten or impede the consolidation of Latvian democracy in the twenty-first century. A recent report on citizenship and democracy in Latvia noted, "Since the majority of people who belong to national and ethnic minorities are not citizens, they find it difficult to participate fully in the country's civic life."[50]

Since regaining independence, Latvians have emphasized education to develop human resources needed to sustain institutions of market economy and constitutional democracy. One of the first laws enacted after restoration of independence was the 1991 Law on Education. This law guarantees that all residents of Latvia have an equal right to acquire a basic education, which begins at six or seven years of age and continues for nine years. It includes four years of primary school and five years of lower secondary school. The minimum compulsory duration of schooling is nine years or until one reaches the age of 15.[51]

Among the major goals of compulsory education in Latvia are:

- To promote students' sense of responsibility towards themselves, their family, their community, their nation, their native land, and towards all peoples and the highest moral values.
- To ensure the acquisition of the knowledge and skills necessary for personal and public life.[52]

These two goals can be connected to civic education: education for citizenship in Latvia's emerging constitutional democracy and market economy.

[48] Karatnycky, Motyl, and Graybow, 357; Steven C. Johnson, "Naturalized Citizen Happy to be Latvian," *The Baltic Times* (October 28-November 3, 1999), 5.

[49] Jeff Chinn and Lise A. Truex, "The Question of Citizenship in the Baltics," *Journal of Democracy* 7 (January 1996), 137.

[50] Karatnycky, Motyl, and Graybow, 358.

[51] Andrejs Rauhvargers and Iera Brensone, *Higher Education in Latvia* (Riga: Academic Information Centre, 1999), 16.

[52] Centre for Curriculum Development and Examination, *National Standards of Compulsory Education* (Riga: Ministry of Education and Science, 1998), 7.

Latvians have used education for democratic citizenship in their schools to advance their country's transition to democracy and strengthen its links to Europe and the West. The Democracy Advancement Center (DAC) is Latvia's leading civic education organization. It is a non-governmental organization that was founded in 1993 with support from the American Latvian Association, a component of the World Federation of Free Latvians. Rusins Albertins, a retired chemical research engineer living in Naperville, Illinois, was the catalyst. He left Latvia in 1944, when his family sought freedom and opportunity in the West. After the restoration of Latvian independence in the 1990s, Albertins vowed to return to his former homeland in the cause of education for democratic citizenship. Albertins organized the DAC and recruited a dynamic, indigenous staff led by Guntars Catlaks, a teacher at Draudzina Gymnasia in Riga. Funds to support the DAC were granted by the National Endowment for Democracy, an agency of the federal government of the United States. Catlaks served as director of the DAC from 1994 until November 1997, when he took a position at the Soros Foundation Office in Riga. The current DAC director is Valts Sarma, who assisted Catlaks while also serving as principal of the Sala Primary School in Jurmala.

The goals of the DAC are to (1) foster understanding of principles and practices of democracy and (2) promote reforms in education that prepare citizens for active participation in a democratic society. Since 1994, the DAC has designed and developed instructional materials for a new course in civics at the ninth grade, the culminating year of compulsory basic education in Latvia. The course's content emphasizes the interactions between citizens and their constitutional government. There are lessons on the Latvian Cónstitution, institutions of government, and rights and responsibilities of citizens. But civic education also involves the society in which government functions; thus there are lessons on the family, educational institutions, social groups, and the economy. In particular, the relationship of civil society to democratic governance is stressed, because there can be no democratic governance if the society in general is not democratic. Finally, there are lessons on international relations so that Latvian citizens will understand how they are connected to various regions and peoples of the world.

The methods of teaching in this new civics course emphasize active learning instead of the passive reception of information. Lessons require students to acquire and apply information and ideas rather than merely receive and repeat them. They are challenged to use higher-level cognitive operations involved in the organization, interpretation, and evaluation of subject matter. Various kinds of group work, such as role playing exercises, simulations, and political problem-solving tasks, are used to teach

skills of democratic participation and decision making. These active teaching methods are most compatible with the educational goal of developing knowledge and skills necessary for effective and responsible citizenship in a constitutional democracy. In the development of curricula and instructional materials, the DAC recognizes that intellectual and participatory skills and processes are inseparable from particular knowledge and that some ideas and facts are more significant or valuable than others. Thus, their classroom lessons conjoin basic content on principles and practices of democracy with fundamental cognitive and participatory processes and skills to enable students to learn content and skills simultaneously.

In 1996, the Latvian Ministry of Education made civics a compulsory ninth-grade course. Nearly all inhabitants of Latvia attend school through grade nine, which marks the end of basic education in the national system of schools. Thus, nearly all children in Latvia will complete a formal course in civics.

Since 1997, civics has been included more broadly in the curriculum of primary and secondary schools. The national curriculum standards, for example, call for infusion of civic education into various subjects, such as language and literature, fine arts, biology, and ecology. Further, the required seventh-grade course in ethics and eighth-grade course in economics are designed to achieve objectives of education for democratic citizenship. Thus, the Latvian Ministry of Education has concluded that civics should be integrated with other subjects in the primary school and beyond.

In 1998, the Democracy Advancement Center brought *Project Citizen* into Latvian schools. Materials were translated into Latvian and Russian, printed and distributed to teachers and students throughout the country, and introduced to teachers through professional development workshops. From September through May of 1998-1999, the DAC conducted 14 teacher training courses for more than 200 teachers in three major cities – Riga, Jurmala, and Daugaupils – and eight regions of Latvia.[53] A direct outcome of the teacher training activities was implementation of *Project Citizen* by 20 teachers in 12 schools in 1999 during the annual Project Week in Latvian schools.

The Latvian Ministry of Education established the Project Week to pro-

[53]The implementation of *Project Citizen* in Latvia, including translation of materials into Latvian and Russian editions, printing of materials, and training of teachers, has been supported by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California and the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, Bloomington with funds from the United States Department of Education.

vide students an opportunity to explore in depth, during one week (usually in February), a subject chosen by themselves and their teacher. They often select topics and projects in science and conduct intensive laboratory experiments. They may also select project topics in the arts and humanities. Teachers and students working with the Democracy Advancement Center have decided to implement *Project Citizen* during one intensive week of activity – the annual Project Week.

During the 1999-2000 school year, the Democracy Advancement Center conducted 24 *Project Citizen* training sessions for 432 teachers in all regions of Latvia. In addition, the DAC introduced *Project Citizen* into the methods of teaching courses at teacher education institutions in Latvia.

During Project Week in February 2000, 265 students from grades 5 through 9 participated in the study to evaluate *Project Citizen*, which is reported in this monograph. There were 13 treatment classes with 139 students and 13 comparison classes with 126 students. The 26 classes in this study included 18 in which the language of instruction was Latvian and 8 in which the language of instruction was Russian. Examples of the kinds of issues selected by students for their *Project Citizen* inquiries pertained to alcohol and tobacco use by children, vandalism in schools, graffiti, environmental pollution and waste disposal, stray dogs, the process for naturalization of citizens, and migration away from communities.

The culminating event conducted by the DAC during the 1999-2000 school year was a *Project Citizen* National Competition and Showcase. Sixteen classes of students were selected from 12 schools to present their *Project Citizen* portfolios to judges. The event was conducted on April 20, 2000 at the First Gymnasium, Jurmala. The judges questioned students about their portfolios, rated them, and selected the winning class, which represented the Rujiena Secondary School (the teacher was Inta Priede). Leaders of the Democracy Advancement Center hope to make the *Project Citizen* National Competition and Showcase an annual springtime event.

### *Project Citizen* in Lithuania

Lithuania regained its national independence in 1990 after more than 50 years of occupation first by the Soviet from 1940-1941, then by Nazi Germany from 1941-1944, and finally by the Soviet Union again, from 1944-1990. The early years of the Soviet occupation tended to be brutal with deportations, executions, expropriations, and terror.[54] Since 1990,

[54]Romuald J. Misiunus and Rein Taagepera, *The Baltic States: Years of Dependence, 1940-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 15-45.

Lithuanians have worked to overcome the crippling legacy of Soviet totalitarian tyranny by building a constitutional democracy with guaranteed rights for individuals to their long-denied liberties.

The restored independent Republic of Lithuania is the southern- and western-most of the Baltic states. It lies in the northeastern part of Europe, and is part of the European plain that extends from Germany to eastern Russia. Lithuania borders Latvia to the north, the Kaliningrad region of Russia to the west, Belarus to the east, and Poland to the south. Lithuania has 99 kilometers of coastline along the Baltic Sea. While geographically the largest of the Baltic states, the territory of Lithuania is still relatively small, and at 65,301 square kilometers is roughly the size of West Virginia. The capital is Vilnius, located in the southeastern part of the country, with a multiethnic population of 600,000. The other major cities are Kaunas (435,000) in the center, and Klaipeda (206,000) along the Baltic coast.[55]

Although Lithuania has no official religion and no definite figures for religious affiliation are available, without question the Roman Catholic Church is a powerful force in Lithuanian life today, and it has long been an important bulwark for national identity, perhaps especially during the years of Soviet occupation. Ethnic Lithuanians represent 80% of Lithuania's total population of 3,711,900; Russians and Poles constitute 9% and 7% respectively, followed by Belorussians at 2%, Ukrainians at 1%, and other groups including Jews, Estonians, Tartars, Gypsies, Germans, and others amounting to 1%.[56]

Unlike Latvia and Estonia, where the indigenous peoples represent smaller majorities of the total population, the primary identity of Lithuania as the homeland of ethnic Lithuanians was not seriously challenged during the twentieth century. As a result, while ethnic minority issues are an important feature of the geopolitical landscape, the Republic of Lithuania has felt secure enough to offer easily-gained citizenship to post-World War II immigrants and their descendants.[57] Consequently, approximately 90% of the ethnic minority groups population are Lithuanian citizens.[58] Moreover, the Republic of Lithuania has taken several steps to alleviate fears surrounding the preservation of ethnic identity,

[55] Richard and Ben Crampton, *Atlas of Eastern Europe in the Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), 253.

[56] Adrian Karatnycky, *Freedom in the World: The Annual Survey of Political Rights and Civil Liberties* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2000), 302.

[57] Stanley Vardys and Judith B. Sedaitis, *Lithuania: The Rebel Nation* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1997), 5.

[58] Dzintra Bungs, *The Baltic States: Problems and Prospects of Membership in the European Union* (Baden-Baden, Germany: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1998), 68.

including the Law on National Minorities passed in 1989, which, among other things, provides for public education in minority languages and the creation of the Department of National Minorities in 1990.[59] The European Union considers the condition of minorities in Lithuania to be generally satisfactory, and in September 1997, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe voted to discontinue monitoring human rights in Lithuania.[60]

The basic requirements for democratic government and individual liberty exist in Lithuania. In the latest annual Freedom House survey of democracy and civil liberties in the world, Lithuania is labeled a "free country."[61] The Constitution of the Republic of Lithuania, adopted by referendum on October 25, 1992, provides the basis for a pluralistic, parliamentary democracy drawing on the constitutions of the United States, Germany, and France, and earlier Lithuanian constitutions, and reflecting the inheritance of the social welfare state.[62] Important features of the Lithuanian constitutional structure include separation of power among three branches of government, a western European-style parliamentary system including the *Seimas* (Parliament) with a Prime Minister and other cabinet Ministers, an executive branch that follows the French model, and a bifurcated judiciary consisting of a regular court system running from local courts to the Supreme Court as well as a Constitutional Court designed to deal with questions of constitutional law.[63]

The Constitution guarantees an extensive list of basic individual rights including the right to life, personal freedom, human dignity, personal communications, property, freedom of thought, freedom of religion, right to assemble, petition, right to vote for citizens 18 years of age or over, protection against arbitrary searches, presumption of innocence until proven guilty of a crime, privilege against self-incrimination, right to appeal, and equality before the law, among others. In addition, the Constitution provides for paid maternal leave after childbirth, compulsory education for children under 16, secular education, classes in religious instruction at the request of parents, state support for culture and science; it prohibits both censorship of mass media and the monopolization of mass media by anyone and requires the state to support ethnic communities.[64]

[59] Vardys and Sedaitis, 212.

[60] Bungs, 52.

[61] Karatnycky, 304 and 597.

[62] Vardys and Sedaitis, 206-208.

[63] Ibid.

[64] A copy of the Lithuanian Constitution is included in The International Institute for Democracy, *The Rebirth of Democracy: 12 Constitutions of Central and Eastern Europe* (Strausbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, 1996), 209-241.

A final factor relevant to Lithuanian civil society is the proliferation of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) during the last decade. By the mid-1990's, there were more than 700 registered social groups, including charitable organizations, professional associations, political organizations, women's organizations, and those representing ethnic minorities.[65] One NGO, which has played the critical role in introducing *Project Citizen* to Lithuania, is the College of Democracy. Starting in 1995, inspired by Headmaster Eigil Kjaergaard of the Ørum Youth School in Denmark, the College of Democracy began as an informal initiative among educators interested in promoting education for democratic citizenship, and officially registered with the state in March 1994. Since then, the College of Democracy has emerged as a leader in spreading awareness about the need for civic education and in promoting new approaches to that mission.

Since the restoration of independence, civic education for democracy has received special attention in broader efforts to reform the educational system. As stated in the Law of Education in the Republic of Lithuania, adopted in 1991, "Civic education is considered to be one of the essential goals of the educational system; to foster citizenship, the understanding of a person's duties toward family, nation, society, and the State of Lithuania, as well as the need to participate in the cultural, social, economic, and political life of the Republic.[66]

The *General Curricula of Secondary Schools in Lithuania* provide that the course "The Principles of Civil Society" be taught as a separate subject in Grades 7 and 8 for one hour a week, and in Grade 10 for two hours a week. In other grades, civic education is integrated into other courses, so that, for example, in Grades 1 through 4, it is a component of the course "I and the World," and in later grades it is incorporated into history, economics, and moral education.[67] Teachers are supposed to be free to select the content of their course by choosing from among those several texts and materials approved by the Ministry of Education and Science, and determine their own teaching style.[68]

Barriers to improved civic education in Lithuania include the persistence of Soviet-era teaching methods and thought patterns that are inconsistent with democratic values, the still nascent understanding of the

[65] Vardys and Sedaitis, 210.

[66] Quoted in Irena Zaleskiene, "National Identity and Education for Democracy in Lithuania," in Judith Torney-Purta, John Schwille, and Jo-Ann Amadea, editors, *Civic Education Across Countries: Twenty-Four National Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project* (Amsterdam: International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement, 1999), 422.

[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

principles of democracy among the population, the general expectation of administrative and bureaucratic corruption and inefficiency, persistent economic hardship, and occasional poor coordination among those responsible for educational reform. As Irena Zaleskiene, Senior Researcher and Head of the Department of Social Sciences in the Institute of Pedagogy at the Ministry of Education and Science has concluded, "It will take competent, responsible and nationally-minded citizens willing to take initiative to realize the transformation into a healthy civil society."[66]

The introduction of *Project Citizen* to Lithuania is one example of the kind of initiative needed to build democracy in Lithuania. It began in August 1997 when the College of Democracy started a partnership with the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California to implement a pilot program of *Project Citizen*. Under the supervision of the College of Democracy, *Project Citizen* classroom materials were translated into Lithuanian, and 1,000 copies of the student book were published. In this initial form, the Lithuanian *Project Citizen* materials were, for the most part, unadapted translations of the original English language books.

In 1997-1998, the College of Democracy trained a select group of 30 teachers in using *Project Citizen*. These teachers implemented *Project Citizen* in their classrooms and participated in an evaluation of the pilot program, which involved 730 students. At the conclusion, a teacher-based evaluation was conducted by the College of Democracy. The opinions and suggestions of these teachers were invaluable in shaping further development of *Project Citizen* in Lithuania, and many of them have gone on to serve as teacher trainers.

Following the recommendations of the pilot project teachers, and with assistance from the Center for Civic Education, work began in August 1998 on adapting *Project Citizen* to the particular needs of Lithuanian classrooms. The student book was revised and some additional materials for student use were created. More significantly, under the direction of Rima Martineniene, Program Manager of the College of Democracy, an original teacher's guide was developed that provided a theoretical background for *Project Citizen* in Lithuania, extended instructions, description of teaching methods, and discussion of potential implementation problems and solutions.

The revised *Project Citizen* materials were presented to the Lithuanian Ministry of Education and Science, and accepted for use in grades 6 through 10. With Ministry approval, 1,500 copies of *Project Citizen* books in Lithuanian were printed and distributed to school libraries across

[66] Ibid., 421.

Lithuania for use by any interested teacher. A further 11,000 copies were printed for direct distribution to classrooms, and were first made available in 1999-2000. Additionally, the College of Democracy began posting *Project Citizen* materials on its website in 1998 and included them on a CD-Rom, *Civic Education in Lithuania*, distributed in spring 2000.

Since the pilot program, there has been an ongoing effort to generate interest in using *Project Citizen* in Lithuanian classrooms. In November 1998, the College of Democracy coordinated six conferences in different locations across Lithuania to present *Project Citizen* to civic educators and school administrators. Each conference included a discussion of the program and a presentation of 1-2 student portfolios developed by pilot project classes. In spring 1999, the Lithuanian Ministry of Education and Science conducted a training course for civic educators that included *Project Citizen* among the programs presented for use in Lithuanian schools.

With further support from the Center for Civic Education, and with the assistance of the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, directed by John J. Patrick, work began in mid-1999 to provide the necessary basis for an evaluation of the impact of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of students in Lithuania.[70] The College of Democracy, with the support of the Ministry of Education and Science, secured the participation of eighteen treatment classes with 298 students using *Project Citizen*, along with eighteen comparison classes with 307 students not using *Project Citizen*. Together these included 36 classes: the language of instruction was Lithuanian in 26 classes, Polish in 4, and Russian in 6. The total was 605 students from grades 6 to 10.

Prior to this evaluation of *Project Citizen* the best evidence of classroom reactions comes from the teacher evaluation conducted at the end of the pilot program. The results were generally positive, and 93 percent of the teachers who implemented the pilot project stated that they would recommend the program to their colleagues. They found that *Project Citizen* was a valuable addition to traditional civic education programs. In particular, these teachers felt that *Project Citizen* participants were motivated, worked independently, learned about the Lithuanian legal system and the structure and functions of local government, and obtained useful experience

[70] The implementation of *Project Citizen* in Lithuania, including translations of materials into Lithuanian, printing of materials, and training of teachers has been supported primarily by the Center for Civic Education in Calabasas, California and secondarily by the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University, Bloomington with funds from the United States Department of Education.

in civic involvement. And while *Project Citizen* classes are not expected to resolve the public policy issue they examine, several pilot program teachers noted that local politicians and administrators reacted positively to student presentations, and in some cases implemented student-proposed policies.

As the culminating event for the 1999-2000 academic year, the first National *Project Citizen* Showcase was held in Vilnius, April 18. Ten classes were chosen to present their portfolios to an audience of teachers, educators, government officials, representatives of the media, interested members of the public, and representatives from the Social Studies Development Center of Indiana University.[71] The College of Democracy intends to make the National *Project Citizen* Showcase an annual event.

[71] The Lithuanian College of Democracy produced a 30-minute video cassette that presents highlights of the National *Project Citizen* Showcase.

# 6

# Effects of *Project Citizen* on the Civic Development of Adolescent Students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania

*Kim K. Metcalf, Thomas S. Vontz, and John J. Patrick*

As noted in Chapter Four, this study was designed to examine the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* across three relatively diverse geographic and political units. Two major research questions were addressed:

1. What are the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania?
2. What are the relationships between the effects of *Project Citizen* on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and particular contextual and personal factors?

In addition, the study investigated two ancillary research questions:

3. Between the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania and independent of participation in *Project Citizen*, are there differences in the civic development of students in this study?
4. Is *Project Citizen* differentially effective across the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania?

This chapter presents the results of analyses directed toward the four questions stated above and constituent subquestions associated with items one and two. (Elaborate statements of these questions, including sub-questions for items one and two above, are presented in Chapter One.) Chapter Six is organized into three sections. Section one presents analyses, results, and interpretations about the **effectiveness** of *Project Citizen* across and within the three political units. Section two presents analyses, results, and interpretations associated with **factors influ-**

**encing program effectiveness.** Section three is a summary of findings. Due to the statistical techniques employed, the two ancillary questions are discussed within the first section. Because detailed and extensive discussions of the specific methodological and analytical approaches used in the study were provided in Chapter Four, the discussion in this chapter is limited to presentation and interpretation of findings related to the research questions. Extended discussion of the relevance of these findings for curriculum developers, teachers, and researchers is provided in Chapter Seven.

### Instructional Effects of *Project Citizen*

A primary purpose of this inquiry was to investigate the extent to which *Project Citizen* promoted desirable changes in civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions of participating students. Because *Project Citizen* is used widely across a diverse range of countries and contexts, an important element of this study was to examine the effectiveness of the program in three different political units: Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. This portion of the study involved analysis of data related to student knowledge of civic concepts or ideas, self-perceived proclivity to use desirable civic skills, and acquisition of particular civic dispositions.

The first set of analyses was directed toward examination of program effectiveness. Pretest and posttest data were synthesized for each student on the basis of the factor analyses discussed in Chapter Four. The result was computation of seven measures for each student on both the pretest and posttest: five civic dispositions (propensity to participate, political tolerance, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, and political interest), a single measure of self-perceived civic skills, and a single measure of civic knowledge. Individual student data were then aggregated by class, resulting in 102 classroom units (51 treatment classes with 712 students and 51 comparison classes with 700 students). There were seven mean measures for each unit of analysis.[1] All analyses of program effects were conducted using these 102 classes, rather than the 1,412 individual students, as the units of analysis.

The three components of civic development – knowledge, skills, dispositions – are related but distinct. The five factors of the civic dispositions component, however, were highly correlated. As a result, separate univariate analyses of covariance (ANCOVA) were employed to investi-

[1]See Chapter Four for a complete discussion of the rationale for this method and how the calculations were made.

gate self-perceived civic skills and acquisition of civic knowledge. Multivariate analysis of covariance and appropriate univariate or post hoc comparisons were used in the analysis of the five civic dispositions. In both univariate and multivariate analyses, treatment condition (participation or non-participation in *Project Citizen*) and political unit (Indiana, Latvia, Lithuania) were independent factors whose main and interaction effects were studied. As noted in Chapter Four, this method allowed investigation of primary research question one and its constituent subquestions (program effectiveness) as well as investigation of ancillary questions three and four (differential civic development by political unit and program effectiveness across political units).

Before proceeding, it is important to note that while random assignment of classes was not possible, efforts were made to ensure comparability between comparison and treatment classes. Further, as presented in Chapter Four, analysis of demographic, contextual, and pretest data suggest that the comparison and treatment groups were highly similar.

**Acquisition of Civic Knowledge.** Two way univariate analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was used to investigate the effects of political unit and treatment on the students' acquisition of civic knowledge. Table 6.1 presents adjusted posttest means by political unit and treatment condition, and Table 6.2 presents the results of two-way ANCOVA.

**Table 6.1: Descriptive Statistics for Civic Knowledge by Political Unit and Treatment Condition**

| | Political Unit | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania | All Countries |
| **Treatment** | 1.28 | 1.47 | 1.55 | 1.43 |
| **Comparison** | .89 | .68 | 1.20 | .92 |
| **All** | 1.09 | 1.07 | 1.37 | 1.18 |

**Table 6.2: Analysis of Covariance on Civic Knowledge by Political Unit and Treatment Condition**

| Source of Variance | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Significance Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Treatment Condition** | 6.403 | 1 | 6.403 | 25.28 | > .000 |
| **Political Unit** | 1.897 | 2 | .949 | 3.75 | .027 |
| **Treatment * Unit** | .868 | 2 | .434 | 1.71 | .186 |
| **Error** | 24.063 | 95 | .253 | | |

Table 6.2 indicates that across the three political units, students who completed *Project Citizen* possessed significantly greater civic knowledge than their counterparts in classes who did not participate in *Project Citizen*. After accounting for pretest differences, the treatment mean posttest score was nearly twice as large as that of the control condition (1.43 and .92, respectively), representing an effect size of 0.78 standard deviations. Thus, *Project Citizen* appears to have a significant effect on students' acquisition of civic knowledge.

Table 6.2 also reveals significant differences in civic knowledge between the three political units, regardless of participation, in *Project Citizen*. In order to explicate the nature of these differences, Tukey-Kramer[2] techniques were used to make pairwise comparisons while minimizing experimentwise error. The results of these comparisons are presented in Table 6.3 and indicate that Lithuanian students possessed significantly greater civic knowledge than students in either Indiana or Latvia independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*. However, the civic knowledge of students in Indiana and Latvia did not differ significantly.

**Table 6.3: Pairwise Comparisons of Civic Knowledge by Political Unit**

| Political Unit | Adjusted Posttest Mean | Significance | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania |
| **Indiana** | 1.09 | | N.S. | * |
| **Latvia** | 1.07 | | | * |
| **Lithuania** | 1.37 | | | |

As reflected in Table 6.2, there were no significant interaction effects between participation in *Project Citizen* and the political unit in which the program was conducted. This finding is important because it suggests that the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in promoting acquisition of civic knowledge was not dependent upon or mediated by the country in which it was used. The program appeared to be equally effective across at least the three political units studied.

**Development of Self-Perceived Civic Skills**. Two-way univariate analysis of covariance was also used to examine the impact of *Project*

[2]See C. Y. Kramer, "Extensions of Multiple Range Test to Group Means with Unequal Numbers of Replications," *Biometrics* 12 (1956): 307-310; J. W. Tukey, *Exploratory Data Analysis* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1977); and J. W. Tukey, *The Problem of Multiple Comparisons* (Princeton University: Ditto, 1953).

*Citizen* on development of students' self-perceived civic skills. Adjusted posttest mean scores for civic skills are presented in Table 6.4 by treatment condition and political unit. Results of ANCOVA are presented in Table 6.5.

**Table 6.4: Descriptive Statistics for Self-Perceived Civic Skills by Political Unit and Treatment Condition**

| | Political Unit | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Indiana** | **Latvia** | **Lithuania** | **All Countries** |
| **Treatment** | 3.30 | 3.09 | 3.12 | 3.17 |
| **Comparison** | 3.08 | 3.00 | 3.03 | 3.04 |
| **All** | 3.19 | 3.05 | 3.08 | 3.11 |

**Table 6.5: Analysis of Covariance on Self-Perceived Civic Skills by Political Unit and Treatment Condition**

| Source of Variance | Sum of Squares | df | Mean Square | F | Significance Level |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Treatment Condition** | .429 | 1 | .429 | 8.81 | .004 |
| **Political Unit** | .362 | 2 | .181 | 3.71 | .028 |
| **Treatment * Unit** | .102 | 2 | .051 | 1.04 | .356 |
| **Error** | 4.629 | 95 | .049 | | |

The results presented in Table 6.5 indicate a significant effect of *Project Citizen* on students' self-perceived civic skills across the three political units. After participating in the program, students in *Project Citizen* classes perceived themselves to be much more civically skilled than students in classrooms that did not participate.

Table 6.5 also reveals significant differences in students' self-perceived civic skills between the three political units, whether or not they participated in *Project Citizen*. Tukey-Kramer procedures for multiple pairwise comparison were applied and the results are presented in Table 6.6 below. As can be seen, independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*, students in Indiana perceived themselves to be significantly more civically skilled than students in Latvia. There were no significant differences in self-perceived civic skills between students in Indiana and Lithuania or students in Lithuania and Latvia.

| Table 6.6: Pairwise Comparisons of Self-Perceived Civic Skills by Political Unit | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Political Unit | Adjusted Posttest Mean | Significance | | |
| | | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania |
| **Indiana** | 3.19 | | * | N.S. |
| **Latvia** | 3.05 | | | N.S. |
| **Lithuania** | 3.08 | | | |

As in the case of civic knowledge, no significant interaction of treatment and political unit was found. Again, it appears that *Project Citizen* was equally effective in developing self-perceptions of civic skill across the three political units.

**Development of Civic Dispositions.** As explained in Chapter Four, factor analyses with varimax rotation were employed to identify the most relevant and consistent factors constituted by the survey items associated with civic dispositions. The five resulting factors or dispositions – propensity to participate, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, political tolerance, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, and political interest – were subjected to two-way multivariate analysis of covariance and, when appropriate, to subsequent univariate and pairwise comparisons.

Table 6.7 presents adjusted posttest means for each of the five civic dispositions by treatment condition and by political unit. As can be seen in Table 6.7, adjusted posttest scores are widely variable and display no clear patterns across the five civic dispositions. However, multivariate analysis indicates a significant main effect of *Project Citizen* on civic dispositions across the political units (Wilks' Lambda = .725, $p<.000$); and significant main effects between the three political units (Wilks' Lambda = .776, $p<.012$), although no significant interaction between treatment and political unit was revealed (Wilks' Lambda = .645, $p = .774$). Subsequent univariate analyses were conducted for each of the five civic dispositions and these results are presented in Table 6.8.

**Table 6.7: Descriptive Statistics for Five Civic Dispositions by Treatment Condition and Political Unit**

| Political Unit | | | Disposition | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Participate | Constitution | Tolerance | Responsible | Interest |
| | Indiana | Treatment | 2.36 | 3.83 | 3.31 | 3.65 | 3.11 |
| | | Comparison | 2.02 | 3.80 | 3.67 | 3.59 | 3.10 |
| | | Total | 2.19 | 3.81 | 3.34 | 3.62 | 3.11 |
| | Latvia | Treatment | 2.07 | 3.69 | 3.33 | 3.42 | 3.36 |
| | | Comparison | 1.86 | 3.64 | 3.45 | 3.54 | 3.52 |
| | | Total | 1.97 | 3.67 | 3.39 | 3.48 | 3.44 |
| | Lithuania | Treatment | 2.19 | 3.85 | 3.41 | 3.54 | 3.42 |
| | | Comparison | 1.80 | 3.69 | 3.43 | 3.43 | 3.37 |
| | | Total | 1.99 | 3.77 | 3.42 | 3.49 | 3.40 |
| | All Countries | Treatment | 2.21 | 3.79 | 3.35 | 3.54 | 3.30 |
| | | Comparison | 1.89 | 3.71 | 3.41 | 3.52 | 3.33 |
| | | Total | 2.05 | 3.75 | 3.38 | 3.53 | 3.31 |

Participate = Propensity to Participate; Constitution = Commitment to Constitutionalism and Rights of Citizenship; Tolerance = Political Tolerance; Responsible = Commitment to Responsibilities of Citizenship; Interest = Political Interest

| Table 6.8: Univariate Analyses of Covariance on Civic Dispositions by Treatment Condition and Political Unit | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Disposition** | **Source of Variance** | **Sum of Squares** | **df** | **Mean Square** | **F** | **Significance** |
| **Participate** | *Project Citizen* | 2.306 | 1 | 2.306 | 20.80 | < .000 |
| | Political Unit | .356 | 2 | .178 | 1.61 | .206 |
| | Project * Unit | .118 | 2 | .059 | .534 | .588 |
| | Error | 10.087 | 91 | .111 | | |
| **Constitutionalism** | *Project Citizen* | .157 | 1 | .157 | 3.73 | .057 |
| | Political Unit | .203 | 2 | .102 | 2.41 | .095 |
| | Project * Unit | .074 | 2 | .037 | .88 | .418 |
| | Error | 3.831 | 91 | .042 | | |
| **Tolerance** | *Project Citizen* | .100 | 1 | .100 | 2.39 | .125 |
| | Political Unit | .047 | 2 | .023 | .56 | .570 |
| | Project * Unit | .032 | 2 | .016 | .389 | .679 |
| | Error | 3.785 | 91 | .042 | | |
| **Responsibility** | *Project Citizen* | .006 | 1 | .006 | .125 | .725 |
| | Political Unit | .146 | 2 | .073 | 1.62 | .204 |
| | Project * Unit | .186 | 2 | .093 | 2.06 | .134 |
| | Error | 4.121 | 91 | .045 | | |
| **Interest** | *Project Citizen* | .030 | 1 | .030 | .296 | .588 |
| | Political Unit | .774 | 2 | .387 | 3.88 | .024 |
| | Project * Unit | .180 | 2 | .090 | .90 | .409 |
| | Error | 9.067 | 91 | .100 | | |

The five univariate analyses indicate a significant effect of *Project Citizen* only on students' propensity to participate in civic and political activities. Students whose classes engaged in studying *Project Citizen* were significantly more likely to express a tendency to become involved in civic and political activities than were students whose classes were not exposed to *Project Citizen*. This positive effect consistently favored *Project Citizen* classes across the three political units. However, *Project Citizen*, does not appear to have affected changes in any of the four other civic dispositions.

Univariate analyses also indicate significant differences between the three political units in students' political interest, independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*. Follow-up pairwise comparisons (Table 6.9) reveal that students in Latvia and Lithuania generally had similar levels of political interest and students in each country had significantly greater political interest than students in Indiana.

**Table 6.9: Pairwise Comparisons of Political Interest by Political Unit**

| Political Unit | Adjusted Posttest Mean | Significance | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania |
| **Indiana** | 3.11 | | * | * |
| **Latvia** | 3.44 | | | N.S. |
| **Lithuania** | 3.40 | | | |

**Summary of *Project Citizen's* Effects.** Analyses of *Project Citizen's* effects on students reveal several important findings. The program promoted significant and positive changes in students' knowledge of particular civic ideas or concepts associated with *Project Citizen*, and it developed students' self-perceived civic skills. The impact of *Project Citizen* on students' civic dispositions was much less consistent, however. Although a significant positive effect was found regarding students' propensity to participate, the program did not appear to have fostered change in students' commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, political tolerance, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, or political interest.

Findings for the ancillary questions associated with the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* are particularly noteworthy. Importantly, the effects of *Project Citizen* were neither enhanced nor mediated by the political unit in which it was used. Positive impacts on students' civic knowledge and perceived civic skills were consistent across the three countries, as were the mixed effects of the program on students' civic dispositions. That no interaction effects were found between students' participation in *Project*

*Citizen* and political unit suggests that the program may be equally effective in a variety of countries.

There were a few significant differences between the three political units of this study in students' civic development, which were independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*. For example, independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*, students of this study in Lithuania demonstrated a significantly higher level of civic knowledge than students of this study in Indiana and Latvia. Further, students in Latvia and Lithuania had significantly more political interest than students in Indiana. By contrast, the Indiana students in this study had a significantly higher level of self-perceived civic skills than their counterparts in Latvia and Lithuania. However, differences in students' civic development between the three political units of this study, apart from their participation in *Project Citizen*, were neither extensive nor profound.

In conclusion, the answer to primary research question one is affirmative, though not comprehensively positive. *Project Citizen* promoted significant improvement in students' civic knowledge, self-perceived civic skills, and the civic disposition of propensity to participate in political and civic life. However, participation in the program did not appear to affect significantly any of the four other civic dispositions examined in this study.[3] Interpretations and recommendations about these findings for curriculum developers, teachers, and researchers are presented in Chapter Seven.

[3]As noted in this chapter and others, the present study treated the class as the unit of analysis rather than the individual student. The reasons for this were discussed earlier, but it is useful to demonstrate exactly how different the results of this type of study can be when individual students are mistakenly used as the units of analysis.

For **illustrative purposes only**, data on student dispositions from the present study were analyzed using 1,412 students rather than the 102 classes as the units of analysis. Because this approach is substantially biased toward Type 1 error, the results suggest much greater and broader effects than actually exist. Applying this inappropriate statistical approach indicates significant main effects of participation in *Project Citizen* for three of the dispositions (propensity to participate, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, and commitment to responsibilities of citizenship); significant main effects of political unit for all dispositions except political tolerance; and significant interaction effects of participation and political unit for two dispositions (propensity to participate and commitment to the responsibilities of citizenship).

These apparently broad and significant effects are unlikely to exist. Use of such statistical approaches would lead the researcher to conclude that the program or treatment was much more effective than it really was and, in the extreme, might result in substantial investment into a program that in actuality had little impact. It is for this reason that contemporary educational research, and this investigation, rely on the more conservative approach of treating classes as the units of analysis.

**Relationships of Instructional Effects to Particular Contextual and Personal Factors**

Research question two and its constituent subquestions focuses on factors that could influence the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* among students who participate. Whereas findings pertaining to research question one indicated positive program effects across classrooms and political units, it is important to understand **how** and **for whom** *Project Citizen* was most effective. Information about mediating or important contextual or personal factors allows the program to be improved either through revision of the program and the ways in which it is distributed or by tailoring the program to specific contexts and students.

Specifically, research question two was investigated using multiple regression techniques to determine which contextual and personal factors were most related to the level of impact achieved by students who participated in *Project Citizen*. It may be remembered that analyses for research question one were conducted using the class as the unit of analysis to minimize the extent to which unique variances among classrooms, teachers, and students might disproportionately affect the results. However, because the second research question explicitly investigates the effects of these contextual and personal variables, individual students who had participated in *Project Citizen* served as the units of analysis for research question two. Additionally, this set of analyses was conducted in two distinct ways. First, multiple regression techniques were used to examine the relationships between student achievement in *Project Citizen* (as reflected in standardized residual gain scores), and a set of programmatic, demographic, instructional, and school variables for participating students (N=399)[4] across the three political units. Next, a series of separate, parallel analyses was conducted for each political unit. The results of these two sets of regression analyses (aggregated across political units and for the three independent political units) are presented in following sections of this chapter.

It is important to reiterate before discussing the specific results that this portion of the present project was exploratory. The primary intent was to initiate investigation into factors that might mediate the effect of *Project Citizen* for varied students in diverse contexts. Analyses that might guide

[4]The total number of treatment students across the three political units of this inquiry was 712. However, only 399 of those participating students responded to every question in the instrument that asked for personal or contextual information. Thus, only these participating students could be included in the analyses of data in response to question two of this inquiry.

future inquiry rather than offer definitive answers were conducted. Thus, the size of the present sample and the application of stepwise regression techniques were conservative. They were, however, appropriate for conducting exploratory regression analyses.[5]

**Cross-Unit Regression Analyses.** Using stepwise multiple regression techniques, data for all students across the three political units who had participated in *Project Citizen* were analyzed. The dependent variable in these analyses was standardized residual gain score computed using an aggregated total score for each student on the pretest and posttest (see Chapter Four for a discussion of how this measure was calculated). Predictor variables for this set of analyses included a core of 17 demographic, programmatic, instructional, and teacher variables that were available for participating students across the political units. Chapter Four presents specific descriptions of each predictor variable and its coding. To reiterate, however, the following were included:

- Mother's education level
- Father's education level
- Parents' country of birth (native or non-native)
- Student gender
- Student grade level
- Student ethnicity
- Student confidence in university attendance
- Student level of participation in *Project Citizen* (self rating)
- Participation in a project related competition (yes or no)
- Teacher gender
- Teacher level of professional development for *Project Citizen*
- Teacher prior use of *Project Citizen*
- Curricular implementation of *Project Citizen* (curricular, extracurricular or combined)
- Selection of topic for culminating project (by student, teacher and student, or teacher only)
- Type of issue for culminating project (school or community)
- Implementation of policy proposal (yes/no)
- Success of policy proposal implementation

[5]Various authors present or propose strategies or standards for determining the number of subjects necessary to produce sufficient statistical power in regression analysis. Across these approaches or guidelines, the primary goal is to conduct analyses with a sample of sufficient size to allow identification of variables that are, in fact, related to tendencies in the outcome variable. In other words, samples that are relatively small make it more difficult to identify significant predictors, i.e., they conservatively bias the results. In the present analyses, the results may not fully identify all of the factors (predictors) that are associated with trends in student gain from *Project Citizen*.

The results of stepwise multiple regression on these predictors yielded five variables, which explained a significant portion of variance in students' standardized residual gain scores ($p < .05$). These five variables and their standardized beta coefficients are reported in Table 6.10.

**Table 6.10: Significant Predictors of Civic Development Gain Across Political Units**

| Variable | Standardized Beta Coefficient | t | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Student Level of Participation | .248 | 5.37 | < .000 |
| Type of Issue for Project | .170 | 3.66 | < .000 |
| Implementation of Policy | .155 | 3.29 | .001 |
| Curricular Implementation | .137 | 2.89 | .004 |
| Mother's Education Level | .101 | 2.18 | .030 |
| **Model** | Adjusted $R^2 = .161$, $F = 16.28$, $p < .000$ | | |

Most strongly associated with greater student gain in civic development was their self-perceived level of participation in *Project Citizen*, which accounted for approximately 25% of all explained variance in student gain. Not surprisingly, students who felt they had participated more extensively tended to experience greater standardized residual gain than students whose participation was less extensive. There was a positive association between type of issue and students' gain in civic development. When the project selected focused on the school rather than the larger community, students demonstrated more gain from participation in the program. Further, if students attempted to implement their proposed policy, they tended to gain substantially more in civic development. Use of *Project Citizen* in an extra-curricular format or in a combination of curricular and extra-curricular formats generally resulted in greater student gain than when the program was implemented solely as part of the regular curriculum. Finally, students' whose mothers' education levels were higher tended to demonstrate greater gain from participation in the program.

Across these variables, it should be noted that only a very small

amount of total variance in student gain is explained (approximately 16%). Among this set of variables, level of student participation explains the largest proportion of the total variance in student performance. Perhaps as important as variables found to be significantly associated with student gain were those that appear to have little influence. In this analysis, many of the factors that have been found related to student learning, and particularly civic development (see Chapter Three), were not significant. These included several student variables (father's education level, gender, ethnicity, grade, or confidence in university attendance), teacher variables (experience with *Project Citizen*, professional development in *Project Citizen*), and programmatic variables (topic selection, competition).

There are a number of factors that may explain why this inquiry failed to identify variables that contribute to or detract from the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* across the political units. An important potential explanation is a lack of precision or accuracy in measurement of these contextual and individual variables. The instruments used in this study were relatively gross, relying on self-reported indicators of each of these variables rather than more precise, independent measures. In part this is because, as noted in Chapter Four, examination of variables that impede or enhance the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* was intended to be exploratory rather than confirmatory. The goal was to initiate inquiry about a range of factors that have been found or suggested as related to student learning and adolescent civic development and their relationship to student learning or civic development within the specific context of the *Project Citizen* program. While theoretically and conceptually grounded, it was not known at the outset whether these factors were, in actuality, related to the effectiveness of *Project Citizen*.

The findings suggest that these previously identified variables may not be as directly or systematically related to civic development in the specific program as they have been found to be in other contexts. Further, it appears likely that the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* across political units, which is supported through research question one, depends upon factors that were not considered in the present study. And, as is revealed in subsequent analyses, these factors appear to differ systematically across political units and contexts. In any event, and as will be discussed further in Chapter Seven, the findings indicate a need for additional study.

Across the political units, it appears that only a small portion of student gain from *Project Citizen* is explained by the variables as they were included and measured in this evaluation. Only five of the factors considered in the present study either mediated or enhanced the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in promoting civic development to a significant degree. In combination with the findings associated with research question one,

*Project Citizen* seemed to be largely effective in spite of differences in context or students. However, factors outside the program, which were not considered in the present study, may have influenced the program's effectiveness.

**Regression Analyses by Political Unit.** A second set of regression analyses was conducted on student gain data to investigate unique differences between the three political units in the factors that were associated with the success of *Project Citizen*. While nearly parallel across the units, some data were available or applicable only to some of the political units (e.g., native or non-native language in Lithuania and Latvia, teacher education level in Indiana, etc.). However, it was believed important to consider whether or not the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* was differentially affected by various factors in each of the political units. In the three sections that follow, the results of the regression approach for each political unit are reported. These analyses are particularly pertinent in light of the cross-unit findings described above.

**Regression Analyses for Indiana.** In addition to the 17 predictors included in the cross-unit analyses, three additional variables were included in the regression analyses for *Project Citizen* students in Indiana (N=118). These were:

- Teacher education level
- School type (public/private)
- Teacher years of experience

Applying stepwise regression techniques as described earlier, three variables appeared to explain a significant portion of variance in standardized residual gain scores. These variables are reported in Table 6.11.

**Table 6.11: Significant Predictors of Civic Development Gain in Indiana**

| Variable | Standardized Beta Coefficient | t | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Student Level of Participation | .459 | 5.54 | < .000 |
| Teacher Professional Development | .336 | 3.75 | < .000 |
| Student Grade Level | - .325 | - 3.51 | .001 |
| **Model** | Adjusted $R^2$ = .262, F = 14.82, p < .000 | | |

As in the cross-unit analyses, the factor most strongly related to increased residual gain in Indiana was students' self-perceived level of participation in *Project Citizen*. Students who reported greater involvement benefitted more substantially from the program than those who did not participate as fully. Similarly, the extent to which the teacher had participated in professional development activities associated with *Project Citizen* was also related to student gain. Teachers with more professional development in using the program were likely to promote greater gains in students' civic development. Finally, the level at which the program was implemented was significantly related to program effectiveness. When implemented at higher grade levels (e.g., high school rather than middle school), the program was generally less effective in promoting civic development.

Again, most of the variables considered in the present evaluation were not found to be significantly related to the effectiveness of the program in Indiana. These included a range of student, teacher, school, instructional, and programmatic factors that were thought to have contributed to the effectiveness of *Project Citizen*. However, it is important to point out that the three variables identified in the Indiana data explain a substantially greater portion of variance in program effectiveness (over 26%) than the five identified in the cross-unit analyses. While explained variance, even in Indiana, remains much too small to be used for predictive purposes, it does suggest at least two things. First, the three variables are important in the success of the program and improving them, systematically or indirectly, will likely improve the benefit of *Project Citizen* for students. Second, it appears that the factors that influence the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* may differ systematically across political units and contexts, despite the overall effectiveness of the program.

**Regression Analyses for Latvia.** In both Latvia and Lithuania, the set of core predictors used in the cross-unit analyses were supplemented with one additional variable. Public schools in each of these countries, by mandate, must include schools for students whose native tongue is not the national language. In Latvia, this includes a substantial proportion of national schools established for students who speak Russian. As described in Chapter Five, program materials have been translated into Russian, and a sizeable number of Latvian students study *Project Citizen* in Russian language schools. For this reason, regression analyses for Latvia included a variable indicating whether or not the student studied *Project Citizen* in the national tongue.

Stepwise regression analysis for the 102 students in Latvia, who both completed *Project Citizen* and fully responded to all questions asking for personal and background information, revealed only two factors that

explained significant proportions of variance in standardized residual gain.[6] These variables are reported in Table 6.12.

**Table 6.12: Significant Predictors of Civic Development Gain in Latvia**

| Variable | Standardized Beta Coefficient | t | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| Success @ Implementation | .273 | 2.84 | .006 |
| Participation in a Competition | .244 | 2.54 | .013 |
| **Model** | Adjusted $R^2$ = .159, F = 10.53, p < .000 | | |

For students in Latvia, both significant variables were found to be positively associated with student gain from *Project Citizen*. Students were likely to benefit more from *Project Citizen* in classes where they successfully implemented their culminating project proposal. In addition, if students participated in a culminating competition, they were likely to gain more from participating in *Project Citizen* than those who did not. Small sample size (only 102 of 139 students across only 13 classrooms responded to all relevant items of the instrument used in this inquiry) and problems of accuracy in measuring some variables may explain why only two of the 18 predictor variables were identified as significant. Though it is not possible from these data to determine other reasons for this unexpected finding, it is likely that a lack of variance or unusually high or low measures on these variables in one or more large classes may have skewed the results. Nonetheless, the two variables explain slightly less than 16% of the variance in standardized residual gain scores. In addition, the differential factors identified in Indiana and Latvia, despite the consistency with which student level of participation was associated with greater program effects, suggests that there may be important differences in the ways in which *Project Citizen* can or should be implemented in particular contexts.

**Regression Analyses in Lithuania.** As noted, the list of predictor variables included in analyses of student data from Lithuania (N=164) was

[6] A total of 139 students in 13 treatment classes were full participants in this study of *Project Citizen's* effects on civic development (question 1 of this inquiry). Thirty-seven of them, however, did not comprehensively respond to all questions asking for personal and contextual information. Thus, they were dropped from this part of the analysis of data.

identical to that for Latvia.[7] In addition to the 17 core variables used in the cross-unit analysis, the language variable was included to reflect the use of *Project Citizen* in schools where most students used either Russian or Polish as their primary language instead of Lithuanian, the primary language of the majority of the people. Although the Civic Development Inventory was translated into Russian and Polish for these classes, the *Project Citizen* materials used by them were available only in the Lithuanian language.

Six variables emerged as significant predictors of standardized residual gain in civic development. These variables are reported in Table 6.13.

**Table 6.13: Significant Predictors of Civic Development Gain in Lithuania**

| Variable | Standardized Beta Coefficient | t | Significance |
|---|---|---|---|
| National or Minority Language | .426 | 4.48 | < .000 |
| Student Level of Participation | .276 | 4.22 | < .000 |
| Implementation of Project | .231 | 3.58 | < .000 |
| Topic Selection | .192 | 2.74 | .007 |
| Student's Gender | .275 | 2.59 | .010 |
| Rural or Urban School | .174 | 2.21 | .028 |
| **Model** | Adjusted $R^2$ = .284, F = 12.78, p < .000 | | |

Students who used Lithuanian as their primary language benefitted much more from *Project Citizen* than minority ethnic group students in Lithuania who used either Russian or Polish as their primary language. This variable accounted for the largest proportion of all variance explained by the six factors. Whether this finding is due to potentially negative consequences of minority status within the political system and

[7] A total of 298 students in 18 treatment classes were full participants in this study of *Project Citizen's* effects on civic development (question 1 of this inquiry). Among these 298 students, however, 134 did not completely respond to all questions asking for personal and contextual information. Thus, they were dropped from this part of the analysis of data.

culture, or if it more accurately reflects broader differences in instructional approach across the ethnically different schools is not clear. Since these minority ethnic group students used *Project Citizen* materials in the Lithuanian language instead of their own primary language, they may have been at a disadvantage in achievement of instructional objectives.

As in the cross-unit analyses and in Indiana, students who felt they had participated in the program at a higher level were likely to benefit more substantially than those who did not. Also similar to earlier findings, the proposal implementation and topic selection variables were associated with larger standardized gain in civic development for students. If students attempted to implement their proposed policy, they were likely to benefit more from participating in *Project Citizen*. And, when students were more involved with selection of the topic or issue for investigation, students' gain from participation in *Project Citizen* was increased. Female students were slightly more likely to benefit from participation than males, and students in urban schools (Vilnius, Klaipeda, Kaunas) benefitted somewhat more from participation in *Project Citizen* than students in rural areas.

Again, what may be most interesting about the Lithuanian findings was the number and type of variables that were not found related to student benefit from program participation. A majority of the contextual and demographic factors included in the present study were not found to be associated with student gain. Further, while one might assume similarities in political context and recent civic history in Lithuania and Latvia might be reflected in these analyses, the findings suggest little commonality.

**Summary of Regression Analyses.** The findings drawn from analyses associated with research question two were, by nature, exploratory. Small and differential sample sizes across the three political units, substantive differences in the context and process of implementing *Project Citizen*, and a relative lack of accuracy in measuring important predictors of program success caused the results to be overly conservative, and they should be interpreted with caution. Much more study is needed of *Project Citizen* and the student, teacher, school, instructional, and programmatic factors that inhibit or promote its effectiveness. However, at least three findings seem sufficiently consistent and important to warrant discussion.

First, it appears that there were unique attributes and characteristics of particular settings in which *Project Citizen* was implemented which influenced its effects. This is reflected in the summary of findings across regression analyses presented in Table 6.14. Only the variable of students' self-perceived level of participation in *Project Citizen* was strongly and consistently related to students' civic development across the political units.

| Table 6.14: Summary of Significant Predictors of Standardized Residual Gain by and Across Political Units | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Significant Standardized Beta Values | | | | |
| | Political Unit | | | ALL |
| Predictor | Indiana | Latvia | Lithuania | Countries |
| Student level of participation | 0.459 | | 0.276 | 0.248 |
| Implementation of policy proposals | | | .231 | .155 |
| National or minority language | na | | .426 | na |
| Teacher level of professional development for *Project Citizen* | .336 | | | |
| Student grade level | -.325 | | | |
| Student gender | | | .275 | |
| Success of policy proposal implementations | | .273 | | |
| Participation in project-related competitions | | .244 | | |
| Selection of topic for culminating projects | | | .192 | |
| Rural or urban school | | na | .174 | na |
| Type of issue for culminating projects | | | | .170 |
| Curricular implementation of *Project Citizen* | | | | .137 |
| Mother's education level | | | | .101 |
| Student ethnicity | | | | |
| Father's education level | | | | |
| Parents' country of birth | | | | |
| Student confidence in university attendance | | | | |
| Teacher gender | | | | |
| Teacher prior use of *Project Citizen* | | | | |
| Teacher education level | | na | na | na |
| School type | | na | na | na |
| Teacher years of experience | | na | na | na |
| **Adjusted total $R^2$** | **.262** | **.159** | **.284** | **.161** |
| Sample size | 118 | 102 | 164 | 399 |
| Number of items included | 21 | 18 | 19 | 17 |

In Indiana, one student variable (level of participation), one programmatic variable (grade level at which the program is implemented), and one teacher variable (extent of professional development for *Project Citizen*) emerged as significant.

For Latvian students in *Project Citizen*, both significant factors were programmatic: the success with which their culminating project was implemented and whether they participated in a culminating competition.

Findings for *Project Citizen* students in Lithuania identify a set of factors that were very different, with two of the significant variables being student characteristics (level of participation and gender), two being instructional (implementation of the culminating project and studying in the national or minority language), and one each being programmatic (topic selection) and school characteristic (rural or urban). Thus, across the political units, it appears that the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* was influenced by a variety of variables that are uniquely contextual.

Second, the findings suggest that the factors most influential in the success of *Project Citizen* across political units may not be those that have been identified in previous studies of civic development and instructional effectiveness. This evaluation incorporated a range of variables that had been shown or hypothesized to contribute to adolescent civic development. However, these variables were not drawn directly from research on or theoretical conceptions of *Project Citizen*. Nonetheless, it is surprising that the results, while notably tentative and exploratory, do not support the importance of these factors in students' learning and civic development through participation in *Project Citizen*. The present study does support the value of *Project Citizen* in promoting students' civic development across political units, but the extent of benefit for particular students is not equal. Thus, the extent to which *Project Citizen* is more or less effective for a particular student in a particular context must depend upon factors that were not considered in the present study.

Third, and building upon both of the points above, the results suggest a need for additional research on the factors that are related to the effectiveness of *Project Citizen*. The program is increasingly popular, and its use across diverse political units is growing rapidly. This expanding dissemination of the program is likely to be useful in promoting students' civic development as findings from research question one suggest. However, the program's efficiency in promoting the desired ends will be influenced by a number of contextual factors that will or may differ across regions. In order to ensure that *Project Citizen* materials and their implementation are adapted to make them most useful in each of these regions, it is critical that research be directed at identifying important factors that impede or enhance the usefulness of the program.

**Summary of Findings in Chapter Six**

Chapter Seven includes interpretations of findings presented in Chapter Six and recommendations for curriculum developers, teachers, and researchers. Brief summaries of the results for each major research question were presented in preceding sections of this chapter. However, it may be useful to review the specific findings for each question.

***Project Citizen* appeared to affect students' civic development positively and significantly across the three political units involved in this study.** This positive impact was consistent in promoting students' civic knowledge of particular concepts or ideas and developing their self-perceived level of civic skills, but the program was less effective in comprehensively developing civic dispositions. *Project Citizen* affected significantly only one civic disposition, propensity to participate, which is, however, stressed in the purposes and procedures of the program. On balance, *Project Citizen* was an effective means for enhancing some important components of students' civic development in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania.

**The effectiveness of *Project Citizen* did not appear to be related to the country or political unit in which it was implemented.** No significant interaction effects were found between political unit and participation in the program, thus indicating that the program had a statistically comparable impact in each of the three settings. As *Project Citizen's* use expands, this finding suggests the likely value of the program across potentially diverse contexts.

**Students in the different political units exhibited a few differences in civic knowledge, skills, and dispositions that were largely independent of their participation in *Project Citizen*.** Interestingly, however, these differences did not appear consistently to favor one or another political unit.

**Few of the contextual or personal variables examined in this study were consistently found to explain differences in the effectiveness of *Project Citizen* for students who participated across the three political units.** These results were based on a conservative and exploratory investigation of these factors and were both tentative and difficult to interpret. The effect of participation was differential across students, classes, and schools, indicating that there were, indeed, variables that influenced program impact. Further, the findings suggested that these non-programmatic factors may have differed across political units and contexts. However, either as they were measured and defined in the present project or because the most important factors were not examined, the limited range of variables studied explained no more than a small portion of variance in the impact of the program on students.

# 7

# Recommendations on Research, Curriculum, and Instruction

*John J. Patrick, Kim K. Metcalf, and Thomas S. Vontz*

This inquiry found significant, positive effects of an instructional treatment, *Project Citizen*, on the civic development of adolescent students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. The discussion in Chapter Six reveals that irrespective of the political unit in which they participated in *Project Citizen*, students made significant gains in their civic knowledge, sense of competence in civic skills, and propensity to participate in civic and political life – one of the five civic dispositions addressed by this inquiry. This inquiry found no significant effects of *Project Citizen* on four other civic dispositions: political tolerance, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, and political interest.

The significant, positive effects of *Project Citizen* on students' civic development were generally not related to various contextual and personal factors. The student's self-perceived level of participation in *Project Citizen* was the most important of only five variables associated with significant and positive student gain in civic development. Those students with a greater sense of participation in the program had greater gains in civic development. The discussion in Chapter Six indicates that very little of the total variance of student gains in civic development can be explained by various contextual and personal factors examined in this study.

The discussion in Chapter Six shows that *Project Citizen* was not differentially effective across the political units of Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. Positive effects on students' civic knowledge and sense of competence in civic skills were consistent across the three countries, as was the program's enhancement of an important civic disposition of students, propensity to participate in civic and political life. It seems that *Project*



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*Citizen's* effects on students' civic development in all three political units of this study – Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania – were equivalent and consistent.

**Recommendations on Research**

The findings about *Project Citizen's* effects on students' civic development in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania generally were positive, but not definitive, in supporting the instructional worth of this program. These positive findings certainly suggest that teachers are justified in using *Project Citizen* to educate students for democratic citizenship, but additional research is needed to more fully demonstrate strengths or reveal weaknesses of this instructional product. Thus, we urge researchers to use our operational conceptualization of civic development with certain modifications, which are discussed below, to evaluate the instructional effectiveness of *Project Citizen* in different parts of the world and with diverse groups of students in various educational settings. We offer the following specific recommendations about research.

1. We recommend elaboration of our civic knowledge component of civic development and further investigation of *Project Citizen's* impact on student gains in this domain of civic development. Our operational definition of civic knowledge consists of three constructed-response items in our Civic Development Inventory, which pertain to public policy issues, non-governmental organizations in civil society, and characteristics of democracy. Students' achievement of civic knowledge through *Project Citizen* might be much broader than indicated by the limited presence of this component in the Civic Development Inventory. Thus, subsequent research on *Project Citizen's* instructional effects should include at least five more constructed-response items to measure more elaborately and exactly the program's impact on students' civic knowledge. These items might involve knowledge of (1) roles and responsibilities of citizens in a democracy, (2) strategies and tactics for effective and responsible participation to influence public policy in a democracy, (3) relationships of constitutionalism to participation of citizens in the government and civil society of a democracy, (4) rights of citizenship in a democracy, and (5) relationships of political tolerance to security for rights.

2. We recommend modification of our civic dispositions component of civic development. Our operational definition consists of five factors in our Civic Development Inventory: propensity to participate, political interest, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship, and political tolerance. Two of

these variables, political interest and commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, are rather weak in reliability and integrity. Subsequent research on the instructional effects of *Project Citizen* should include modification of the items in the political interest and commitment to responsibilities of citizenship scales. New items should be added to strengthen these factors. The validity and reliability of the newly constructed variables should be established through factor analyses, reliability tests, and other standard procedures. Improvements in the quality of these two factors of the Civic Development Inventory are likely to yield findings about political interest and commitment to responsibilities of citizenship that are more trustworthy than the findings reported in this monograph.

3. We recommend use of our research design and methodology in subsequent evaluations of *Project Citizen* – including a modified version of our civic development model and instrument (The Civic Development Inventory) – as suggested in items 1 and 2 above. Thus, subsequent studies of *Project Citizen* might be conducted to assess its effects on the civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions of adolescent students in various political units in different parts of the world. Through this kind of research in the future, the findings of our study about *Project Citizen's* instructional effects might be supported and strengthened or questioned and disputed.

4. In subsequent research on *Project Citizen's* effects on the civic development of students, we recommend investigation of questions about interactions among civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions. For example, are students who achieve significant gains in civic knowledge more likely to make significant gains in civic skills and civic dispositions? Findings in response to this kind of question might provide guidance to curriculum developers and teachers about the extent and emphasis to place on a particular component of civic development, such as civic knowledge, in their uses of *Project Citizen*.

5. We recommend an expansive emphasis on personal and contextual factors in subsequent inquiries about *Project Citizen's* impact on the civic development of students. The study reported in this monograph revealed few relationships between several personal and contextual variables and gains in students' civic development. These findings suggest a singular, powerful, and undifferentiated impact of an instructional treatment on the civic development of students, which might be an inflated and thereby misleading portrayal of *Project Citizen's* effectiveness. This facet of our inquiry, therefore, needs to be reexamined to determine whether or not these unusual findings will occur in subsequent research on *Project Citizen's* instructional effectiveness. Further, in subsequent inquiries we recommend expansion of the range of personal and contextual variables

to yield the most accurate and justifiable explanation of *Project Citizen's* instructional effectiveness. Additional personal or contextual factors pertaining to students that might be included in subsequent research are (1) extent of previous experience in volunteer service in the school or the community outside the school, (2) extent of previous participation in school-based or curriculum-connected requirements for cooperative-learning or service-learning activities, (3) extent of previous exposure to civics courses or other social studies courses about government and citizenship, (4) extent of participation in extra-curricular activities in the school, (5) extent of participation in civil associations in the community outside the school, (6) extent of exposure to or use of mass media of communication, such as television, newspapers, and magazines, (7) parents' occupations or employment, and (8) extent of participation with parents in discussions about civic or political affairs. By attending to these kinds of personal or contextual factors, in combination with others involved in the study reported in this monograph, researchers can determine more exactly the extent to which variables other than the instructional treatment might contribute to an explanation of *Project Citizen's* positive impact on the civic development of students.

**Recommendations on Curriculum and Instruction**

Findings of this study suggest that *Project Citizen* is an effective instructional product. It appears to enhance the civic development of students with regard to their civic knowledge, sense of competence in civic skills, and propensity to participate in civic and political life. Nonetheless, civic educators should strive to improve worthy instructional materials, such as *Project Citizen*. A good instructional product might be made better through application of findings from well-designed research about the program's effects on students. We recommend the following curricular and instructional improvements of *Project Citizen*, which are based on applications of our research about the program's effects on students' civic development in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania.

1. We recommend more systematic teaching and learning of civic knowledge in *Project Citizen*. As is, this program has a heavy emphasis on cognitive and participatory processes and a minimal inclusion of substantive content about principles and practices of democracy. Students involved in our evaluation of *Project Citizen* certainly made significant gains in civic knowledge. This achievement, however, was a by-product of an instructional program geared primarily to develop civic skills and civic dispositions. Gains in civic knowledge might be expanded and otherwise enhanced through systematic attention to this dimension of civic

development in *Project Citizen*. Further, we speculate that more emphatic and systematic treatment of civic knowledge relevant to citizens' participation in democratic government and civil society may improve *Project Citizen's* effects not only on the knowledge dimension of civic development but also on the skills and dispositions dimensions. Examples of concepts that might be taught more elaborately and exactly through *Project Citizen* are constitutionalism and its relationship to protection of individual rights, various roles and responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy, political interest and its relationship to democratic citizenship, tactics and strategies of political participation to influence public policy making in a democracy, and political tolerance in democratic governance and civil society.

2. We recommend addition to *Project Citizen* of systematic instruction about the substantive and conceptual foundations of civic dispositions in concert with the process-based teaching and learning at the core of the program. The scholarly literature on civic dispositions and political attitudes, reviewed in Chapter Three of this monograph, emphasizes the difficulty of bringing about significant changes among students in this component of civic development. The related-research literature is filled with examples of failed attempts to significantly affect civic dispositions, such as political tolerance or political interest, through short-term instructional treatments. Rather, it seems that long-term instruction targeted directly to attitudinal or dispositional change is a key to significant instructional effects on students in this component of civic development. We found that *Project Citizen* had a positive, significant effect on only one civic disposition, propensity to participate, among students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania. Among the civic dispositions in our operational conceptual model, only propensity to participate is addressed pervasively and emphatically in *Project Citizen*. We speculate that increased instructional emphasis in *Project Citizen* on other civic dispositions, such as political tolerance, political interest, commitment to responsibilities of citizenship, and commitment to constitutionalism, might bring about significant gains among students in these factors, as well as propensity to participate in civic and political life.

3. We recommend systematic and substantive instruction in *Project Citizen* about knowledge of the liberal facet of democratic citizenship in concert with its civic republican component. As discussed in Chapter Two, modern democratic theory and practice combine the individual rights-based concerns of democratic liberalism with the community good-based concerns of civic republicanism. *Project Citizen*, however, more strongly emphasizes civic republicanism than democratic liberalism in its processes and content. Increased emphasis on the liberal facet of the the-

ory and practice of democracy might contribute to enhanced development among students of civic dispositions associated with the liberal side of democracy, such as political tolerance and commitment to constitutionalism and rights of citizenship.

4. We recommend a better balance and blend of content about democratic citizenship and processes of democratic citizenship in *Project Citizen*. Cognitive and political processes are treated more extensively and emphatically than content in *Project Citizen*. This great emphasis on processes and skills and the corresponding underemphasis on the content or substance associated with the processes and skills may impede the civic development of students. In particular, lack of civic knowledge that pertains to certain civic dispositions may be associated with lesser student development of these civic dispositions. For example, direct and systematic teaching and learning of the concepts of civic responsibilities or political tolerance in concert with their application to group-based civic action may yield greater comprehensive gains in students' civic development.

5. We recommend maximum involvement of students in all aspects of decision making about the use of *Project Citizen* in their class. A major finding of this inquiry was a strong relationship between students' sense of participation in *Project Citizen* and their civic development. Students who reported higher levels of participation in the conduct and management of *Project Citizen* in their class made greater gains in civic knowledge, civic skills, and civic dispositions than students with lower levels of participation. This finding is a warrant for maximum student participation in the design and implementation of activities in *Project Citizen*.

6. We recommend emphasis on school-based public policy issues in the planning and conducting of *Project Citizen* activities. This recommendation is based on the finding of this inquiry that students' gains in civic development were higher when they focused on school-based issues. However, this finding could be attributed to greater access to information and decision makers. Thus, we caution teachers not to focus exclusively on school-based issues. Community-based issues that strongly attract the attention and interest of students should also be addressed through *Project Citizen*.

7. We recommend that students should be encouraged to implement the policy they proposed in response to a public issue. This recommendation is based on the finding that students who attempted to implement their proposed policy tended to gain substantially more in civic development.

8. We recommend implementation of *Project Citizen* through a combination of curricular and extra-curricular activities. This recommendation is based on the finding that greater student gains in civic development

were associated with program experiences that combined participation in *Project Citizen* in both curricular and extra-curricular activities.

9. We recommend integration of *Project Citizen* into the core curriculum of schools. Students are likely to gain more from *Project Citizen*, if it is connected systematically to core subjects and experiences in school, both curricular and extra-curricular. Further, students are likely to make greater gains in civic development, especially in the component of civic dispositions, if they experience *Project Citizen* more than once. Many previous inquiries, reported in the related-research literature, have demonstrated that significant, positive gains in civic dispositions are not likely to be achieved by students in "one-shot," short-term instructional programs. Thus, we recommend strongly that students participate in *Project Citizen* at least two times at different grades or levels of school. The public issues selected for investigation and resolution will vary, but the same cognitive and participatory processes, civic dispositions, and types of civic knowledge will be experienced by students.

**Conclusion**

The findings reported in this monograph show *Project Citizen* to be an effective instructional treatment. *Project Citizen* generally, if not comprehensively, affects students' civic development in ways that are consistent with the program's most important educational objectives. These results involving students in Indiana, Latvia, and Lithuania, however, are neither definitive nor conclusive. Rather, they should be seen as tentative and suggestive about the potential of *Project Citizen* to affect significantly and positively students' civic knowledge, sense of competence in civic skills, and propensity to participate in civic and political life. Subsequent research involving diverse groups of students in different educational settings and regions of the world is needed to confirm, disconfirm, or extend the findings of research reported in this monograph about the instructional potency of *Project Citizen*. In the meantime, as educators around the world await new findings from subsequent research, they have justification, based on findings reported in this monograph, for using *Project Citizen* to achieve positive instructional outcomes: significant gains in the civic development of students.

# Appendix A

## Posttest Version of the Civic Development Inventory

## Survey (2)
## English Version

This is a survey to be given to students throughout Indiana. This is not a test! We are interested in **your honest opinion. There are no right or wrong answers!**

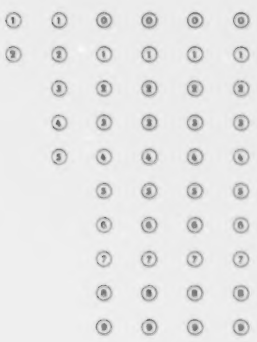
Using a no. 2 pencil, please completely fill in the bubble that comes closest to your opinion.
Thank you for participating in this survey.

Last Name

First Name

Student I.D. Number:

Class code:



Are you:

- ○ Male
- ○ Female

In what year were you born?

| | |
|---|---|
| ○ 1981 | ○ 1986 |
| ○ 1982 | ○ 1987 |
| ○ 1983 | ○ 1988 |
| ○ 1984 | ○ 1989 |
| ○ 1985 | ○ 1990 |

Grade: (please fill in one bubble)

- ○ Fourth Grade
- ○ Fifth Grade
- ○ Sixth Grade
- ○ Seventh Grade
- ○ Eighth Grade
- ○ Ninth Grade
- ○ Tenth Grade
- ○ Eleventh Grade
- ○ Twelfth Grade

From which ethnic groups are you mainly descended?

- ○ African-American/Black
- ○ Asian American
- ○ Latino/Hispanic/Chicano
- ○ Native American
- ○ White/Anglo/Caucasian
- ○ Mixed/Other _____

Please name the city or town nearest to where you live:

_____

Please indicate the number of **school years** you think **your parents completed:**

| | Father: | Mother: |
|---|---|---|
| 1-3 | ○ | ○ |
| 4-7 | ○ | ○ |
| 8-10 | ○ | ○ |
| 11-12 | ○ | ○ |
| 2 years of college | ○ | ○ |
| college graduate | ○ | ○ |
| graduate school | ○ | ○ |

Were your parents born in the United States?

- ○ One
- ○ Both
- ○ Neither

How sure are you that you will be attending a four-year university after high school?

Not Sure ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7 ○ 8 ○ 9 ○ 10 Very Sure

1) Have you ever had a course in civic education or American government?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

2) Did your class study **Project Citizen?**

No ○ **If no, please skip to question 9 below the box.**

Yes ○ **If yes, please continue with questions 3 - 8 in the box below.**

3) How did you select your topic?

- ○ Students chose
- ○ Teacher chose
- ○ Combination student/teacher

4) Did you present your portfolio to adult judges?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

5) If yes, have you participated in a competition?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

6) Were you able to identify the governmental official or branch that is responsible for handling the kinds of problems you selected for your portfolio?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

7) Did you try to implement your proposed policy

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

8) If yes, were you successful in implementing your policy?

- ○ Yes
- ○ No

9) How many days a week do you usually read the front-page news in the newspaper?

○ 0 ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7 days per week

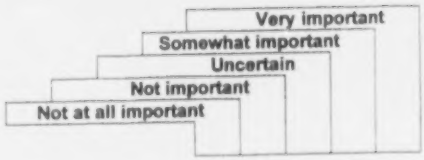
10) How many days a week do you usually watch a news program, such as the evening news on television?

○ 0 ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7 days per week

11) Is news something you try to watch on TV, or do you just see it because someone else has it on?

- ○ Try to watch
- ○ It's just on
- ○ Both

12) Please indicate how important these rights are to you personally.



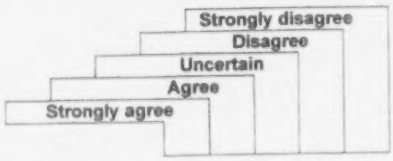

a) Freedom to express your political views. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) Freedom to join and participate in social and political groups. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

c) The freedom to believe whatever you want to believe, even if most people do not agree with you. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

d) The right to organize public meetings to criticize the actions of authorities. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

13) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.




a) Citizens are responsible for keeping themselves informed about public issues. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) When a government is in the early stages of creating a new society the people must often be ruled with an iron hand for their own good. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

c) Citizens, as members of a society, have an obligation to participate in public life. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

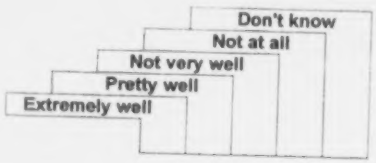
d) Elected officials should sometimes have unlimited power in order to achieve important goals. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

e) Once elected, government officials are not obligated to listen to the opinions of the people in their communities. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

f) People like me don't have any say about what the government does. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

g) Having elections makes the government pay attention to what people think when it decides to act. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

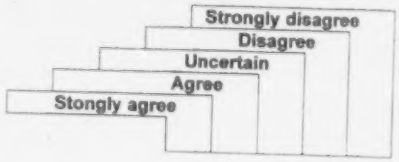
14) How well would you say that the following statements describe you personally?




a) I am skilled at explaining problems in my community or country to other people. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) I am skilled at using facts and reason to analyze other people's positions on problems. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

15) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.




a) Elected officials are only responsible for protecting the rights of the people who elected them. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) If you don't agree with a law, it is all right to break it. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

c) In times of emergency, the government ought to be able to suspend law in order to solve pressing social problems. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

d) It is not necessary that the highest government officials should always obey the law. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

e) Sometimes it might be better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

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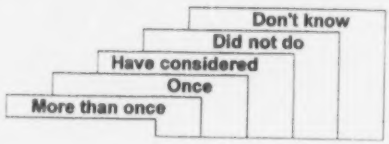
16) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

| | Strongly disagree | Disagree | Uncertain | Agree | Stongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) I have the right to ask government officials for information. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| b) I can work with others to make changes in my community. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| c) I try to help solve problems in my community. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| d) I am responsible for respecting the rights of people with whom I disagree strongly. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

17) As part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from:

| | Never | Sometimes | Often |
|---|---|---|---|
| a) Libraries | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| b) Newspapers | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| c) Radio | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| d) Television | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| e) Internet | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| f) Professors or scholars | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| g) Lawyers or judges | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| h) Community organizations or nongovernmental organization (NGOs) | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| i) Government offices | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| j) Family and friends | ○ | ○ | ○ |

18) Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason:




| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) spoken with a government official about problems in you community? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| b) tried to get other people to support your solution to a problem in your community or country? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| c) written a letter to a government official? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| d) phoned a government official? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| e) signed a petition? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| f) attended a local council meeting? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| g) made an appointment and visited a government official by yourself or with a group? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| h) taken part in a protest or march? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| i) met with members of interest groups to obtain information? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| j) called in to a TV/radio news/political talk show? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| k) tried to persuade someone to vote for a specific candidate or cause? | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |



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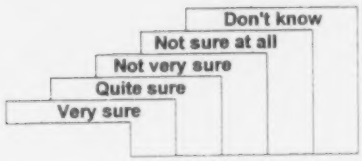
19) How sure are you that:

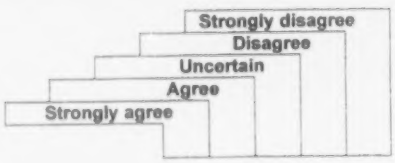



a) if there were a problem in your community, you would know what government official or branch is responsible for such a problem? ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) you could find the government official or branch responsible for solving a particular problem in your community? ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

c) you know the steps necessary to influence members of your government? ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

20) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.




a) I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing my community. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) If government officials are not interested in hearing what people like me think, there is really no way to make them listen. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

c) If a person doesn't care how an election comes out he or she shouldn't vote in it. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

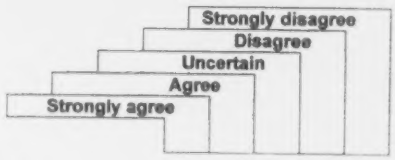
d) I feel well prepared for participating in political and public life. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

e) Someday I might like to run for an elected office. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

21) If you were given the opportunity to vote in the next election, how likely would you be to vote?

Very likely to vote ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7 Not at all likely to vote

22) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

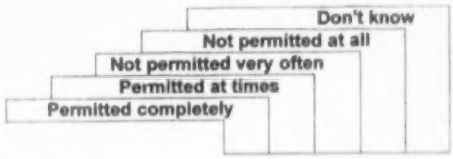



a) Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on what should be done about a problem in my community or country. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

b) All groups in my community should be allowed to try to influence government. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

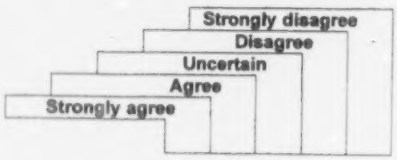
c) Members of some groups should not be allowed to run for elective office. ○ ○ ○ ○ ○

23) Which of the following groups should be permitted to try to influence your government?




| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) Environmentalists | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| b) Women's groups | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| c) Religious groups | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| d) Gay rights groups | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| e) Anti-tax payer groups | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| f) Student groups | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| g) Ku Klux Klan | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| h) Anti-abortion groups | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

24) Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.




| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| a) I am able to work with others to help solve important issues of public policy. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| b) I am able to identify important issues of public policy. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| c) I am able to accurately describe important issues of public policy to others. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| d) I am skilled at evaluating important issues of public policy. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| e) I am skilled at formulating a position on an important issue of public policy. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |
| f) I am skilled at defending my positions on important issues of public policy. | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ | ○ |

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25) List three examples of important public policy issues in your community.

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

For office use only:

① ② ③ ④

26) List three examples of non-governmental organizations that work for the good of your community.

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

For office use only:

① ② ③ ④

27) Suppose someone asks you this question: "What is democracy?" Write three examples that you would use to help this person understand the meaning of democracy.

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

For office use only:

① ② ③ ④

28) How much did you participate in the *Project Citizen* project?

Not Much ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7 ○ 8 ○ 9 ○ 10 A Lot

Thank you very much for participating in this survey!

# Appendix B

## Scoring Rubrics for Constructed-Response Items on Civic Knowledge

### Scoring Rubric for Constructed-Response Item #25

Item #25. **"List three examples of important public policy issues in your community."**

"Public policy is an agreed upon way that the government fulfills its responsibilities such as protecting the rights of individuals and promoting the welfare of all people. Some public policies are written into laws by legislatures. Other policies are contained in rules and regulations created by the executive branches of government, the branches responsible for carrying out and enforcing the law." (Excerpted from the *Project Citizen* student textbook)

To receive credit for a response, students must have selected public policy issues – ones that governments are designed to respond to in some way. Students that fail to provide examples or respond with purely personal examples or with non-issues should be given no credit.

Examples of "public policy issues" would be:
- The need for a stop light at a busy intersection
- The need for a violence prevention policy at a given school
- The need to control corruption in government

Non-examples of "public policy issues" would be:
- The need for an increased allowance
- The need for a 25 mph speed limit on a street that already has a 25 mph speed limit
- The need for government to regulate what people think

Scoring For Item #25

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Point | 0 correct examples |
| 2 Points | 1 correct example |
| 3 Points | 2 correct examples |
| 4 Points | 3 correct examples |

### Scoring Rubric for Constructed-Response Item #26

Item #26 **"List three examples of non-governmental organizations that work for the good of your community."**

Non-governmental organizations (NGO's) are voluntary community associations, outside the direct control and influence of government, that respond to community issues. They are in the private sector of society, but they are subject to the rule of law, which is enforced by the government.

A non-governmental organization may be partially funded by the government and still be considered a non-governmental organization. Although the government may decide to stop funding a non-governmental organization, the government cannot arbitrarily or illegally terminate a non-governmental organization.

To receive credit, students must have identified existing non-governmental organizations. Students that fail to provide examples or respond with governmental organizations or with organizations that do not exist or do not work for some community good should be given no credit.

Examples of non-governmental organizations working for the community good would be:

Neighborhood associations (e.g., the 40th Street Neighborhood Association)
Churches and church groups (e.g., the Lutheran Church, the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Catholic Youth Foundation)
Welfare/social service organizations (e.g., the Young Women's Christian Association)
Special interest groups (e.g., the Southern Poverty Law Center, the National Rifle Association, the Sorros Foundation, the Sierra Club)
Steel Workers Union #45

Non-examples of non-governmental organizations that work for the community good would be:

The public schools in your community
The Ministry of Education
My family
The Parliament
Political parties
The Skinheads

Scoring for Item #26

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Point | 0 correct examples |
| 2 Points | 1 correct example |
| 3 Points | 2 correct examples |
| 4 Points | 3 correct examples |

**Scoring Rubric for Constructed-Response Item #27**

Item #27. **"Suppose someone asks you this question: 'What is democracy?' Write three examples that you would use to help this person understand the meaning of democracy."**

A government is considered a democracy if its most important collective decision-makers are selected through "fair, honest, and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote" (Huntington, 1991). This definition of minimal democracy assumes that democracies protect and support political rights (e.g., freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association), popular sovereignty, and majority rule in the pursuit of fair and competitive elections. In a democracy, government is limited by the supreme law of a Constitution to protect the rights of the people and prevent tyranny.

To receive credit, students must have identified qualities commonly associated with democracies. Students that fail to provide examples or respond with examples that are not commonly associated with democracies should be given no credit.

Examples of democracy:

- Political rights are guaranteed (e.g., freedom of speech, press, assembly, association)
- Personal private rights are guaranteed (e.g., due process of law to prevent arbitrary or capricious abuse by government)
- Equal protection of the law
- Fair and competitive elections
- Popular sovereignty (government by consent of the governed)
- Majority rule
- Limited government
- Rule of law
- Voting

Non-examples of democracy:

- A government with examples that contradict the examples listed above

Scoring For Item #27

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 Point | 0 correct examples |
| 2 Points | 1 correct example |
| 3 Points | 2 correct examples |
| 4 Points | 3 correct examples |

# Appendix C

*Project Citizen*
Teacher Questionnaire

## ***Project Citizen:*** **Teacher Questionnaire** [POST-TEST ONLY]

This is an anonymous questionnaire. It complements the one being given to your students. Thank you for your cooperation.

1) Are you:

- ○ Male
- ○ Female

2) What is the name of your school? _____

3) How would you rank your school in comparison to other schools in your region or city?

Below Average ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 Above Average

4) What grade level is this class? (Please fill in one)

- ○ Grade 4
- ○ Grade 5
- ○ Grade 6
- ○ Grade 7
- ○ Grade 8
- ○ Grade 9
- ○ Grade 10
- ○ Grade 11
- ○ Grade 12

5) How many students are in this class?

| | |
|---|---|
| ○ 0 | ○ 0 |
| ○ 1 | ○ 1 |
| ○ 2 | ○ 2 |
| ○ 3 | ○ 3 |
| ○ 4 | ○ 4 |
| | ○ 5 |
| | ○ 6 |
| | ○ 7 |
| | ○ 8 |
| | ○ 9 |

6) What subject is taught in this class? _____

7) Which other subjects do you teach? _____

8) In your opinion, how many surveyed students are expected to go on to a university?

- ○ None
- ○ A few
- ○ About half
- ○ More than half
- ○ Nearly all

9) Would you characterize your school's location to be: ○ rural ○ urban

10) Do you teach a course in civic education?

Yes ○

No ○ **If no, please stop here.**

11) Have you ever used Civitas *Foundations for Democracy* to teach students?

○ Yes ○ No

12) How many times have you used *Project Citizen* with your classes?

○ Never
○ One
○ Two
○ Three
○ Four
○ More than Four

13) Did you teach *Project Citizen* as part of: (Please fill in one)

○ Normal curriculum (during class)
○ extra-curricular (outside of class)
○ both

14) Have you ever participated in a *Project Citizen* professional development workshop?

○ Yes ○ No

15) Approximately how many hours per week would you estimate were spent on *Project Citizen*? (Please fill in one)

○ 1-2
○ 3-4
○ 5-6
○ 7-8
○ 9-10
○ More

16) Approximately how many weeks did your students study *Project Citizen*?

○ 1-2
○ 3-4
○ 5-6
○ 7-8
○ 9-10
○ More

17) Has this class participated in a:

○ Municipal Competition
○ Cantonal/Regional Competition
○ the National Showcase

18) What was the public policy issue that your class chose to address?

_____

19) How would you rate your students involvement in the *Project Citizen* curriculum?

No Involvement ○ 1 ○ 2 ○ 3 ○ 4 ○ 5 ○ 6 ○ 7 Maximum

20) In your opinion, what is the most important thing that students have learned as a result of participating in *Project Citizen*?

_____

# Appendix D

## Initial Conceptual Model of Civic Development

## Initial Conceptual Model of Civic Development

### Civic Dispositions

Seven scales were used to operationally define the civic dispositions this inquiry initially sought to explore and were given the following labels: political interest scale, political tolerance scale, sense of political efficacy scale, propensity to participate scale, commitment to exercising the rights of citizenship scale, commitment to exercising the responsibilities of citizenship scale, and commitment to constitutionalism scale. For each item a plus or minus sign denotes whether an item is positive or negative. Scale type is noted in parentheses following each item using the first response choice (e.g., "Permitted Completely").

#### Political Interest Scale

+ How many days a week do you usually read the front-page news in the newspaper (Seven Days Per Week)?
+ How many days a week do you usually watch a news program, such as the evening news on television (Seven Days Per Week)?
+ Is news something you try to watch on TV, or do you just see it because someone else has it on (Try to Watch)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from libraries (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from newspapers (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from radio (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from television (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from the Internet (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from professors or scholars (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country

from lawyers or judges (Often)?

+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from community organizations or non-government organizations (NGO) (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from government offices (Often)?
+ As a part of a school assignment or for some other reason, have you gathered information on problems in your community or country from family and friends (Often)?

**Political Tolerance Scale**

+ Sometimes there is more than one reasonable position on what should be done about a problem in my community or country (Strongly Agree).
+ All groups in my community should be allowed to try to influence government (Strongly Agree).
– Members of some groups should not be allowed to run for elective office (Strongly Agree).
+ Should environmentalists be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should women's groups be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should religious groups be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should gay rights groups be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should anti-tax payer groups be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should student groups be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should the Ku Klux Klan be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?
+ Should anti-abortion groups be permitted to try to influence your government (Permitted Completely)?

**Sense of Political Efficacy Scale**

– People like me don't have any say about what the government does (Strongly Agree).

+ I can work with others to make changes in my community (Strongly Agree).
+ I try to help solve problems in my community (Strongly Agree).
+ I feel I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing my community (Strongly Agree).
– If government officials are not interested in hearing what people like me think, there is really no way to make them listen (Strongly Agree).

**Propensity to Participate Scale**

+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason spoken with a government official about problems in your community (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason tried to get other people to support your solution to a problem in your community or country (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason written a letter to a government official (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason phoned a government official (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason signed a petition (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason attended a local council meeting (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason made an appointment and visited a government official by yourself or with a group (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason taken part in a protest or march (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason met with members of interest groups to obtain information (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment or for some other reason called in to a TV/radio news/political talk show (More Than Once)?
+ Within the last six months have you as a part of a class assignment

or for some other reason tried to persuade someone to vote for a specific candidate or cause (More Than Once)?
- – If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he or she shouldn't vote in it (Strongly Agree).
- + I feel well prepared for participating in political and public life (Strongly Agree).
- + Someday I might like to run for an elected office (Strongly Agree).
- + If given the opportunity to vote in the next election, how likely would you be to vote?*

**Commitment to Exercising Rights of Citizenship Scale**

- + Freedom to express your political views (Very Important).
- + Freedom to join and participate in social and political groups (Very Important).
- + The freedom to believe whatever you want to believe, even if most people do not agree with you (Very Important).
- + The right to organize public meetings to criticize the actions of authorities (Very Important).
- + I have the right to ask government officials for information (Strongly Agree).

**Commitment to Exercising Responsibilities of Citizenship Scale**

- + Citizens are responsible for keeping themselves informed about public issues (Strongly Agree).
- + Citizens, as members of a society, have an obligation to participate in public life (Strongly Agree).
- + I am responsible for respecting the rights of others with whom I strongly disagree (Strongly Agree).

**Commitment to Constitutionalism Scale**

- – When a government is in the early stages of creating a new society the people must often be ruled with an iron fist (Strongly Agree).
- – Elected officials should sometimes have unlimited power in order to achieve important goals (Strongly Agree).
- – Once elected, government officials are not obligated to listen to the opinions of the people in their communities (Strongly Agree).

*For this item a semantic differential scale was used. Participants could choose seven numbers ranging from "Not at all likely to vote" – "Very likely to vote."

+ Having elections makes the government pay attention to what people think before it decides to act (Strongly Agree).
– Elected officials are only responsible for protecting the rights of the people who elected them (Strongly Agree).
– If you don't agree with law, it is all right to break it (Strongly Agree).
– In times of emergency, the government ought to be able to suspend law in order to solve pressing social problems (Strongly Agree).
– It is not necessary that the highest government officials should always obey the law (Strongly Agree).
– Sometimes it might be better to ignore the law and solve problems immediately rather than wait for a legal solution (Strongly Agree).

## Civic Skills

Two scales were used to operationally define the civic skills this inquiry initially sought to explore and were given the following labels: intellectual skills scale and participatory skills scale. For each item a plus or minus sign denotes whether an item is positive or negative. Scale type is again noted in parentheses following each item using the first response choice (e.g., "Extremely Well" ).

### Intellectual Skills Scale

+ I am skilled at explaining problems in my community or country to other people (Extremely Well).
+ I am skilled at using facts and reason to analyze other people's positions on problems (Extremely Well).
+ I am able to identify important issues of public policy (Strongly Agree).
+ I am able to accurately describe important issues of public policy to others (Strongly Agree).
+ I am skilled at evaluating important issues of public policy (Strongly Agree).
+ I am skilled at formulating a position on an important issue of public policy (Strongly Agree).
+ I am skilled at defending my positions on important issues of public policy (Strongly Agree).

### Participatory Skills Scale

+ How sure are you that if there were a problem in your community, you would know what government official or branch is responsible for such a problem (Very Sure)?

+ How sure are you that you could find the government official or branch responsible for solving a particular problem in your community (Very Sure)?
+ How sure are you that you know the steps necessary to influence members of your government (Very Sure)?
+ I am able to work with others to help solve important issues of public policy (Strongly Agree).

### Civic Knowledge

Three constructed-response items were used to measure civic knowledge. Student responses were rated by a single rater and were scored according to the following point schedule:

| | |
|---|---|
| 0 correct examples | 1 Point |
| 1 correct example | 2 Points |
| 2 correct examples | 3 Points |
| 3 correct examples | 4 Points |

The following items operationally defined civic knowledge.

1. List three examples of important public policy issues in your community.
2. List three examples of non-governmental organizations that work for the good of your community.
3. Suppose someone asks you this question: "What is democracy?" Write three examples that you would use to help this person understand the meaning of democracy.

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